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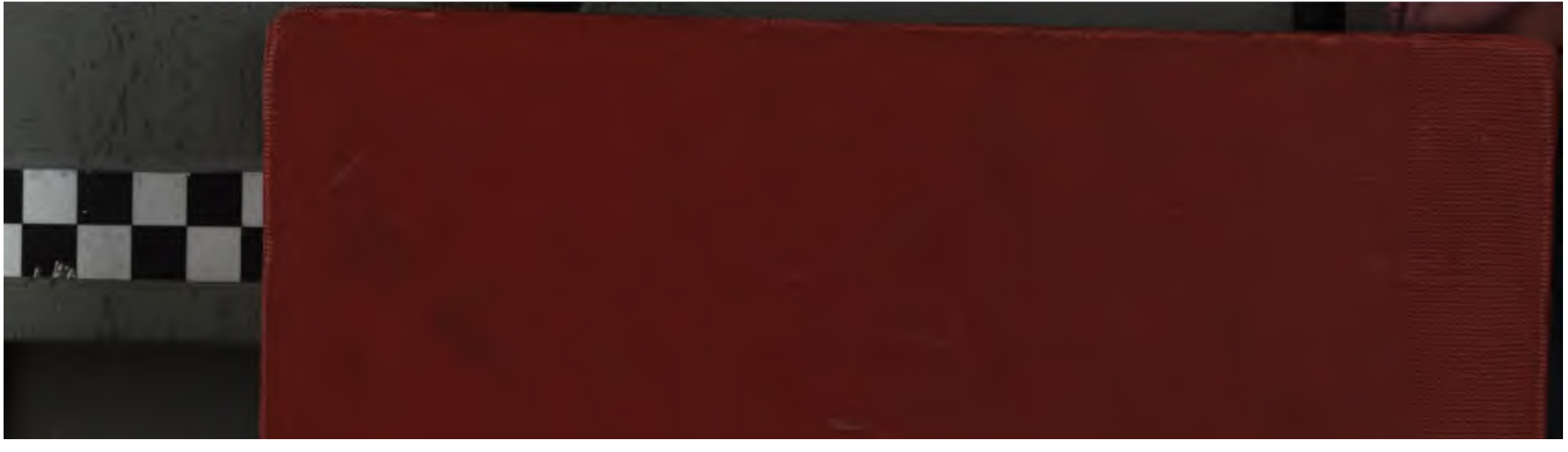

China in Convulsion

Volume One

By ARTHUR H. SMITH

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A BOXER POSTER

The original, found in a Manchu Palace in Peking, gives a Chinese view of Foreigners and their relation to China.

China in Convulsion

11716

BY

ARTHUR H. SMITH

Twenty-nine years a Missionary
of the American Board in China

Author of

"Chinese Characteristics" and "Village Life in China"

With Numerous Illustrations and Maps

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

NEW YORK CHICAGO TORONTO
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1901

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by
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TO MY WIFE

Who before the Siege in Peking, during the Siege, and after the Siege, was a succorer of many and of myself also, in memory of thirty years of partnership, all of them associated with the Celestial Empire, these volumes are affectionately inscribed.

The Author desires to acknowledge his obligations to the Rev. Harlan P. Beach of New York, for his kind help in arranging for the production of this work; to the Rev. Henry Kingman of Claremont, Cal., for revision of the copy, and for oversight of its publication; to Mrs. D. Z. Sheffield of T'ung Chou, for the collection and arrangement of most of the narratives of the experiences of Chinese Christians during the convulsion; to the Hon. E. H. Conger, United States Minister to China, for information in regard to the dispatches between the Legation and the Chinese Government; to Mr. Herbert G. Squiers, Acting United States Minister, for the military map of the besieged Legations, and for other materials; to Lt. Col. Scott-Moncrieff of the Royal Engineers, for the map of the British Legation, and for notes on its defense, and to the friends whose names are mentioned in connection with their special contributions.

PREFACE

THE outbreak against foreigners in China at the close of the Century, like most human events, and all things Chinese, has its roots in the remote past, without some knowledge of which it can by no possibility be understood.

When that rising took on an international character and by an open attack upon eleven Legations at the Capital of the Empire displayed its true nature, it at once became evident that China was more or less deliberately arrayed against the World, which immediately began to watch the progress of the unparalleled contest with the keenest interest.

The sensational details of the alleged massacre in the British Legation on the 7th of July, and the almost accomplished Requiem Service in St. Paul's, when followed by a knowledge of the principal facts, riveted the attention of all nations. The absolute novelty, the intense dramatic interest, the world-wide scope, and the far-reaching consequences of the events which have taken place in China, combine to differentiate the Convulsion in that Empire from anything in history, whether ancient or modern, justifying the Chinese aphorism that there are things which could never be imagined, but there is nothing which may not happen. It is an episode which will attract perennial attention, and it may be expected that from various points of view a thorough investigation of the whole period will certainly be made, so that in time the historical

student may be able to rest with something like confidence upon definite conclusions.

At present, certain knowledge in regard to many important events, especially acts attributed to the Chinese Government, is unattainable, and there is a wide region in reference to which great differences of opinion are not only allowable but inevitable.

It is the design of the present work, while giving in considerable detail the events connected with the siege in Peking, to sketch the important outlines of the events to which that formed the climax. It is certain that in covering so large a field there must be numerous omissions and inaccuracies, especially in details, and there is reason to fear that through imperfect knowledge some events are not set forth in their due proportions and just relations.

This is partly due to the fact that, with the exception of the Blue-books and White-books of the British Government, the last volume of which, however, was too late to be utilized, very few official reports have been available. Military movements have been of necessity merely epitomized, but the defect can be readily supplied from other sources.

An adequate treatment of such a literally continental subject would have involved an account of the events of the year following the outbreak, including the Treaty of Peace, and the final outcome. The state of our knowledge of what has really been going on during the many months of parleying is, however, at present very imperfect. Nothing has yet been really settled, and in China there never is any "final outcome." It is therefore necessary to be content with a general survey of the situation in the light of the past.

It is important to recognize the indisputable and vital fact that China is in need of new moral life. The in-

troduction of Christianity has already done something toward supplying this lack, and has showed that Christianity is capable under suitable conditions of doing indefinitely more. The behaviour, during the late Convulsion, of the native Christians of China, as a whole, has added a new and thrilling chapter to the Evidences of Christianity.

The conduct of some of the men from Western nations on the soil of China has done much harm to the good name of Christendom among the Chinese. But when the tumult has subsided, moral forces must inevitably resume their sway, and perhaps upon a far larger scale and with greater results than ever before.

Whatever may be the political future of the Chinese Empire, the Chinese people will continue to be an important factor in the life of the world. That the mistakes of the past should be corrected, and that the relations between China and the Powers should be put on a wholly different basis, is essential to the peace of the World.

To this end a clear knowledge of the past in its relations to the Convulsion is indispensable, and toward this the present work is offered as a humble contribution.

TIENTSIN, *June*, 1901.

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Feb. Assumption of government by Kuang Hsü.
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1898.
Sep. *Coup d'état*, and usurpation of throne by Empress Dowager.
Sep. 28. Beheading of the five reformers.
1899.
Oct. 18. First pitched battle with Boxers, by General Yuan's troops.
Dec. U. S. Minister informed that Boxer uprising embraced twenty counties.
Dec. 26. Yuan Shih K'ai appointed Governor of Shantung.
1900.
Jan. 24. P'u Chün designated as Heir Apparent.
Mar. 15. Yü Hsien appointed Governor of Shansi.
May 28. Attack on Fêng T'ai.
May 31. Arrival of 340 legation guards in Peking.
June 3. Arrival of German and Austrian guards in Peking.
Peking-Tientsin railway destroyed.
June 8. Flight of T'ung Chou residents to Peking.
Prince Tuan appointed President of Tsung Li Yamen.
Gathering of foreigners in Methodist Episcopal Mission and Legation neighborhood.
June 10. Departure of Admiral Seymour's column.
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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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Aug. 12. Occupation of T'ung Chou.
Aug. 14. Relief of Peking.
Aug. 15. Attack on Imperial City and flight of Empress Dowager.
Aug. 16. Relief of the Northern Cathedral.

1901.

Sep. 9. Signing of peace protocol.

China in Convulsion

I

REMOTER SOURCES OF ANTIPATHY

WHEN a relatively sudden and comprehensive movement like that of the Boxers in China appears in the course of current history, it behooves those who wish to look beneath the surface to inquire what it is and why it is; for only so will they be prepared for the third step, which is to ascertain, What then?

China is a vast Empire, proverbially difficult to understand, no matter what the length of time may be which has been spent in it. As Mr. A. R. Colquhoun has so well put it, immense and indefinite duration multiplied by incomputable numbers of population must make an aggregate literally incomprehensible. On this account, if on no other, it is important to be on one's guard against those cheap and easy solutions of a difficult and complex problem which, by misrepresenting some of the factors, omitting others, and remaining in total ignorance of yet more, may be able satisfactorily to explain everything about the late uprising in China in a few succinct and well-turned paragraphs.

Who are the Chinese? They are an incomparably numerous and homogeneous race of mankind, composed in-

deed of different elements slowly digested into a whole, and occupying one of those sections of the earth's surface —of which there are not too many—where the inhabitants appear to be independent of the rest of the universe. Undoubtedly the Chinese must have come from somewhere, but it is not agreed what their origin was, and considering that the question takes us back, say four millenniums, into primeval history, it cannot be said to be an essential one to answer. Entering China on the west, they occupied the valleys of the rivers, and spread into the regions now known as Shensi and Shansi. It was long before their territory was extended so as to take in what is now vaguely termed the Yangtze valley, and to a Chinese it seems but a short time (a matter of a thousand years more or less) since the " southern barbarians," in what are now the provinces of Fukien and Kuangtung, were reduced to order and " civilized."

The ancient Chinese were contemporary with the ancient Egyptians, and Egypt was isolated from the lands about it, as China from its neighbouring territories. But the separations of Egypt were in reality ties which bound it to the rest of the world. Its isthmus became a highway for the nations, and Egyptian history was inextricably linked with that of the other empires of the time. The barriers in China, on the contrary, were real. The vast deserts behind proved almost as much of a protection as the illimitable ocean in front, and there were gigantic mountain ranges which stood as sentinels of her fertile plains. She did not altogether escape invasion, but she did escape absorption into the currents of the contemporaneous life of mankind. Her Mongol dynasty, with its Genghis Khan, overran China, but it appeared and it disappeared, while China continued as it was. To the north there were vast steppes stretching to the Amur valley,

and beyond them—nothing. To the west there were the nomads of Central Asia, whose very names the Chinese wrote with the radical signifying a dog. Pride of race is neither a new nor an insignificant factor in the history of mankind, and surely if the superiority of a people to the inferiority of its neighbours affords a natural ground for pride, the Chinese were entitled to be proud. They were first, and there was no second to be found. This is, indeed, the most dangerous because the most subtle of all flatteries, but it is not on that account the less real, and it is one to which the Chinese have never ceased to be subject until within a period so short that, measured against their almost geologic ages of national history, it seems trifling.

It is necessary also to take account of what, for lack of a more discriminating term, we may call the Chinese temperament. It is one of the points at which it is next to impossible for the Chinese and the Anglo-Saxon to come to terms, that a civilized, cultivated, prolific, and enterprising race of creatures can exist upon the planet and yet have no thirst to modify existing conditions so as to bring in some state of things more nearly ideal. How Chinese institutions came to be what they are, it is beyond the power of any one now to say. But it is very certain that all those institutions are distinctly an evolution, and that they followed from antecedent causes by an inevitable sequence, as every other development of human history is known to do, leaving, of course, full play for the choice of free volition and the wide varieties of mental preference.

What the Occidental insists upon knowing, however, is why the Chinese did not continue to improve when they had once entered upon the upward path. And this is one of the standing puzzles of Chinese history. To the Chinese, however, there is no mystery,

and nothing whatever to be explained. It was a pithy saying of President Wayland to a class of boys whom he addressed, that "when a thing is as good as it can be, you cannot make it any better." If Dr. Wayland had been the first of the long line of Chinese sages, he could not more aptly have expressed the underlying subsumption which has always dwelt in the Chinese national consciousness.

And this leads me to speak of Chinese ideals. They have the loftiest moral code which the human mind unaided by divine revelation has ever produced, and its crystalline precepts have been the rich inheritance of every successive present from every successive past. The certainty that this is the best system of human thought as regards the relations of man to man is as much a part of the thinking of every educated Chinese as his vertebræ are a part of his skeleton; and the same may be said of the uneducated Chinese when the word feeling is substituted for thinking. The scholar feels because he thinks, the peasant feels without thinking, but their feeling is in the same direction, and not infrequently of a like intensity when the roots of their natures are reached. Perhaps this is a phenomenon not to be found outside of the Celestial Empire; but within it, one might almost say that there are no exceptions to this broad generalization. The Copernican system of astronomy as distinct from the Ptolemaic is not more firmly accepted in Western lands than are the tenets of Confucianism, as a whole and in details, intellectually and psychologically appropriated by the Chinese as on a par with a law of nature. The comparison itself is strikingly inadequate, however, for to this day there are parts even of the United States where school-teachers have been known to offer "to teach round or flat as parents prefer,"

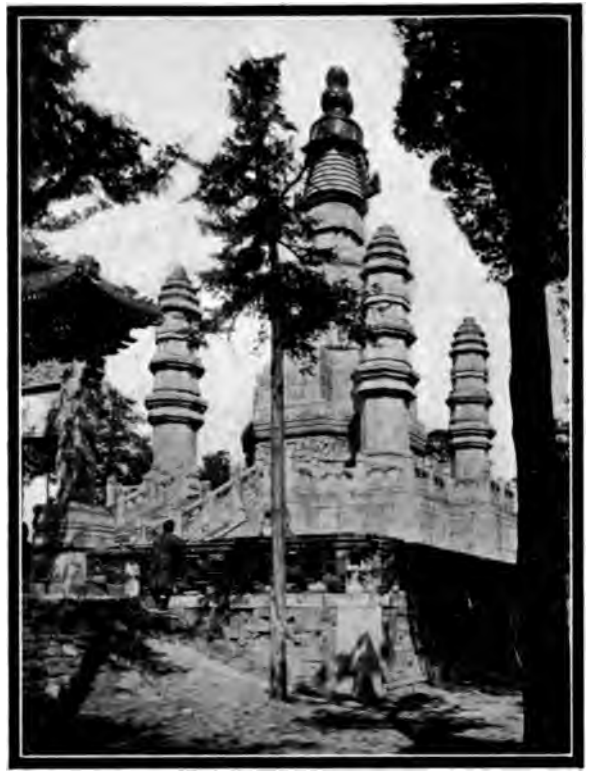
and where men can be found willing to take the affirmative in a public debate upon the proposition that the sun daily revolves about the earth. All that was said by the sages is true: therefore all truth was spoken by the sages. To a Chinese these are almost identical propositions. There are now no sages, and for this reason the Golden Age of the Chinese is in the remote past.

The bearing of these potent facts upon the present topic is immediate and vital. Whatever tends to swing the Chinese race out of line with the past is for that reason alone to be tabooed. This is, in the first instance, not a matter for argument, but it is decided by an instinct like that by which the eagle refuses to dive into the water for the fish which it wants but cannot take, and by which the fish declines to try life upon dry land to escape its finny foes. It was a pregnant saying of one of the great Emperors of the T'ang dynasty (more than a thousand years ago) that the tenets of the sages are adapted to the Chinese as the water is adapted to the fish, and the relation of the Chinese to the sages is that of the fish to the water—when the one dries up, the other dies. It is for this reason that, while every Chinese may employ Buddhist or Taoist priests to perform religious ceremonials supposed to be required, without being in any sense a Buddhist or a Taoist, he is *ex officio* a Confucianist. If he departs from Confucianism, he is like an asteroid which forsakes the planet to which it belongs—it must be due to an overwhelming attraction in another direction.

The Chinese have an instinctive and hereditary aversion to war. In case of emergency they can fight, and do fight, and have done so with more or less success for ages. But fighting is not their normal state of activity, and the military is regarded as distinctly lower than the civil official in every point of view. The Chinese invented gun-

powder, but they have never used it as the cement by which to hold together institutions and races that would otherwise have fallen into disunity. Had the Chinese been a military people by instinct or by choice, it is obvious that they might have overrun the earth. But probably no such ambition or even conception has ever entered into the mind of any Chinese ruler or general. Whenever the particular disorganization for which the army was called out was remedied, things went on again in the same old way. The effort of the Chinese in the fighting of the past has not been to introduce ameliorations of what was felt to be intolerable, but to hold the present to the traditions of a previous past. A military life, being regarded as unworthy of the educated Chinese, was usually left to those who had failed of success in the civil examinations, and many high in military posts could not so much as read or write. The ordinary soldiers were drawn largely from the restless, luckless, discontented classes, weary of the dull routine of home life, thirsting for variety and perhaps adventure. It is proverbial that good men do not become soldiers. Such being the Chinese view of the military arm of the State, it is not surprising that it has simply been treated as a necessary evil, with no attempt at improvement and no correction of long-standing abuses. Modern contact with the nations of the West for more than a century has constantly tended to show the Chinese that their position in an appeal to arms was distinctly and inevitably inferior to that of their opponents in respect of equipment, yet the Chinese never appear to have entertained the smallest doubt that, all things considered, they were incomparably superior to any foreign people, and must in the end be victorious. But the necessity of making the appeal to arms was to the Chinese in many ways distasteful. They did not

TEMPLE OF CONFUCIUS, PEKING



BUDDHIST TEMPLE, PEKING

wish to fight, but merely to be let alone. The felt necessity of dealing with those whose presence might at any time become, and often was, a menace, became to the Chinese irksome in a high degree.

If there are any spheres of activity for which the Chinese race appears to be by nature especially fitted, they may be comprehensively classified under the terms production and exchange. A Chinese knows how to make the most of materials which he has, and he knows how to carry the products of his industry to the places where he will be likely to receive the greatest return for his pains. He is ready to go on long journeys, undergo extreme toil and danger, submit to inconveniences and hardships of every kind for long periods together, and to do it as a business, for the sake of small rewards. He is a born producer, and he is an instinctive and highly skilled trader. Yet, for all this, the Chinese do not place a high value upon trade as such. Attention has often been called to the instructive fact that, of the four classes into which they divide the inhabitants of the Central Empire, Scholars are named first, Farmers second, Workmen third, and Traders last. Chinese officials have always adopted the tone of lofty contempt for the trading classes whenever there was any provocation to do so.

In the case of the foreigner, who came to the Chinese in the first instance simply and solely as a dealer in goods and as a medium of exchange, there was from the beginning a temptation to do this. For many decades the foreigners were few in numbers and the volume of trade was trifling, but it tended always to increase, the profits on each side being immense. It was to the Chinese Government as well as to the Chinese traders a highly advantageous intercourse, but this fact was never for a moment even implicitly admitted by the former, which

invariably assumed a tone of lordly condescension in even tolerating the presence of the "Barbarian," and in indulging the weakness of such of its own subjects as had dealings with him. The Chinese have always exhibited a singular timidity upon the sea. Although undoubtedly discoverers of the mariner's compass, the use which they have always made of it has found expression in the clumsy and unseaworthy junk, which still lingers as a maritime absurdity. Partly on account of their own dread of the ocean, they could not understand the persistent restlessness of foreign merchants which incessantly impelled them to visit the China coast. The only explanation credible, or indeed conceivable, to the Chinese was the theory that the foreigner came because he was compelled to do so. He dwelt in a remote, circumscribed, unproductive, and impoverished corner of the earth, which produced neither tea-leaves nor rhubarb. Without tea he would have nothing to drink. Without rhubarb he was absolutely unable to digest his food. Commerce with China was to him, therefore, a condition of existence, else why did he so persistently and insistently come back after each repulse? To the Chinese, on the other hand, this commercial intercourse was a mere amusement, a bringing from afar of "ivory, apes, and peacocks," which at best were but far-fetched and useless luxuries, not infrequently proving noisy, mischievous, and troublesome.

All this was the common feeling, at the beginning of the present century, in the limited region and among the conceited Chinese where alone such trade was permitted. After a hundred years of enlightenment, however, many Chinese fans still continue to represent their illustrious Empire as large enough to cover four-fifths of the whole number of ribs, the remaining fragment being devoted

to "Ocean," "Ying-Kuo" (England), "Fa-Kuo" (France), and "Hui-Hui" (Mohammedans), omitting the rest of the globe as unknown or irrelevant. Geographical knowledge has penetrated even into Chinese yamens, and has illuminated innumerable officials, who, in time of "Reform" enthusiasm, go so far as to purchase, in large quantities, books on Western learning from missionaries. Yet it is scarce a year since one of these men, a native of Peking, of considerable ability and high scholarship, issued, within the missionary field of the writer of this paper, an elaborate pamphlet, intended for the edification and guidance of the scholars of his county, in the opening sentences of which he repeated the statement already cited, that the foreigners came from an overcrowded land in which it was impossible for them to make a living, to the great Chinese Empire, in which they were allowed by the grace of the Emperor to stay and to trade. The fact that in this particular district the population is in parts above two thousand to the square mile; that the people are so poor as to be barely able by the hardest toil to keep the wolf from their door; that no foreign trade is known in any form; and that the handful of foreigners who reside within that general region draw such support as they may have, not in any wise from China, but from the overcrowded land whence they came, is not more worthy of notice than that an intelligent Chinese mandarin addressing privately the best-instructed men in his county should put this explanation in the opening sentences of his pamphlet of advice and instruction.

More and more toward the close of the century is the Occidental world frank in avowing that without foreign trade it is impossible for nations to continue their existence. In sharp contrast with all this is the undoubted

feeling on the part of innumerable Chinese that it would be a good thing for China if all its foreign commerce were absolutely wiped out. It is easy to point out the absurdity of such a theory, and to show how, by means of this intercourse alone, Shanghai has grown from an obscure county-seat into the great commercial capital of the Far East, some of its once useless real estate now rivaling in value the most costly sites in London; how Chefoo, from an unknown fishing village, has developed into a great port, the door of entry for a large region and an immense population; how Tientsin, which only a generation ago was a congeries of cabbage patches, is now the metropolis of the four northern provinces of the Empire, and second in importance only to Shanghai itself. All this and much else can be shown, proved, established, demonstrated apodeictically, and illustrated abundantly. But *cui bono?* The foreigner does not need the demonstration, and the Chinese, for the most part, does not care for it. It is never safe to generalize in China, and it is proverbially impossible to ascertain what a Chinese thinks or means by what he says. Yet it is frequently quite practicable to come at it by an examination of what he does. Have not the Chinese in each of these treaty ports, as well as in many others, repeatedly and by unmistakable object-lessons made it clear that, if it were left to a vote of the Chinese themselves, scholars, farmers, workmen, and traders included, the foreigner would go?

It has been the fashion to infer that the phenomena which appeared to indicate this feeling were isolated, sporadic, occasional, and transient. The Tientsin massacre was due to the peculiarly violent rowdies of that city, nicknamed "Turbid-Stars;" the sudden whirlwind which came near wiping out the foreign settlement at Chinkiang was on account of the unmanageable boatmen

on the rice-junks; a like unannounced and destructive irruption at the distant Yangtze port of I Ch'ang Fu was devised and managed by Imperial, and therefore unruly, troops; the turbulence of the people in Fu Chou is because they are "the Irishmen of China," and does not carry within it any deep meaning; the destructive and often repeated hurricanes of passion and ruin at Canton are the heritage of a century of misunderstandings and hatred, and not typical occurrences; while the furious ebullitions of the wheelbarrow-men, or the whole class of Ningpo men, in Shanghai, at different times and for different causes, are supposed to illustrate merely the concentration of power in a Chinese labour strike, and the cohesive force resident in the action of a strong provincial guild, moved by considerations of sentiment and of interest under peculiar conditions.

Such opinions have been widely held by some who have considerable knowledge of China and the Chinese. But it is impossible, upon an impartial view of all the facts, not to consider them as altogether inadequate and untenable. When an archipelago of islands is found to have, here and there, volcanoes in various stages of activity, it is not unreasonable to infer that there is a connection between the eruptions, whether they do or do not chance all to take place simultaneously. The causes for the extensive outbreaks in China which have already been considered are only the more remote and perhaps less obvious ones, and may be summarized as what physicians term predisposing rather than efficient. The more proximate and immediate sources are to be found in a variety of phenomena, the complexity of which it is not easy to unravel, and of which perhaps no single individual is competent to give an entirely adequate account. Yet an attempt, at least, at such an unraveling will be found in the ensuing chapters.

II

INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS

WHOEVER will take the trouble to consult any compendious history of foreign relations with the Chinese Empire cannot fail to be struck by the fact that the present treaties are the product of innumerable forces slowly working through long periods of time. As the foreigners originally came to China for the sake of trade, so they have always fought, when there has been any fighting, for the right of treaty relations, primarily with a view to the rights of commerce. The Chinese were willing enough to allow commercial intercourse, but they would tolerate it only at the greatest possible distance from the seat of government at Peking, to wit, the city of Canton, on the extreme southeastern coast of China. Many years ago the writer, while travelling in the province of Shensi, was offered at the capital, Hsi An Fu, an old document which proved to be the original instructions to the first regularly accredited Minister from the United States to China, Mr. John W. Davis. In this letter the President of the United States informs his "great and good friend," the Emperor Tao Kuang, that he has commissioned Mr. Davis to bear the President's good wishes to the Emperor, and "to be near your Majesty." This may have been what President Polk was inaccurately aiming at in commissioning Mr. Davis; it certainly was not what the Emperor meant by receiving him at Canton, and keeping him, together with all other diplomatic representatives, at the same spot.

It is difficult even to read with patience the recital of what foreigners went through with the Chinese at that early day. The conceit of the Chinese Government and of all its officials from top to bottom was simply colossal and insufferable. To us it now seems that no self-respecting nation would have put up with it for a year. Such, however, was the unwillingness to bring on a collision with the Chinese authorities that upon one occasion, when an American sailor had accidentally dropped a dish upon the head of an old boatwoman who was under the ship's side, the commander of the vessel actually submitted to the Chinese demand and sent the poor fellow into the city to be tried by the Chinese, where he was promptly bowstrung! The whole tangled relation of the East India Company to the Chinese was full of potential and inevitable disputes with the authorities. The Governor-General of the two Kuang provinces—"Viceroy" he is still inaccurately termed—was generally chosen for his skill in dealing with the fierce and intractable Barbarian, who was to be tolerated, snubbed, and bled.

Under these conditions it is a wonder that the war of 1840-42 did not come about earlier. The Chinese had been for decades in the habit of using opium, would not, and probably could not, give it up, and had begun to feel the need of getting it in larger quantities. The British trade in this drug was very large, and was directly concerned in bringing on the war when it occurred (though it must have come sooner or later). Many of England's most candid writers and statesmen have not only admitted but declared in Parliament and in many public ways that in that war the case of the Chinese made a better showing, considered in itself, than that of Great Britain. "Considered in itself"—but no war of this sort can be "considered in itself," and there were

graver issues than the opium trade involved, which concerned the whole future of China, little as the ignorant and obstinate men who ruled her comprehended that fact. For the peace of the world and for the welfare of the Chinese Empire itself, it was indispensable that the intolerable pride of the Chinese should receive a decisive overthrow by the only means which people and Emperor alike were able to comprehend—military force. This was eventually accomplished, albeit with great deliberation, and by the sole agency of Great Britain. This important fact is too often lost sight of by those whose main idea seems to be to exploit the Chinese Empire for their own exclusive benefit, shutting out all others.

The signing of the Treaty of Nanking in the spring of 1842 is justly regarded by Dr. Williams, whether from the political, commercial, moral, or intellectual standpoint, as "one of the turning-points in the history of mankind, involving the welfare of all nations in its wide-reaching consequences." By it the Emperor of China was punished for refusing to treat the foreigners with common humanity, for cutting off their access to the Chinese with whom they wished to trade, for spurning foreign ambassadors, and for denying that intercourse with the rest of the world which they felt to be a natural right. Four new ports were opened, for the reason that the British had already seized them and could not be expelled. The British required a port for refitting ships, and as they had already to some extent occupied the island of Hongkong, it was ceded to them. Twenty years later this demand was followed by the cession of a territory on the mainland needed for expansion. Plats of land were set aside for the use of foreigners in each of the new ports, to be governed by the various nationalities.

As no foreigner could submit to the execution of

Chinese laws by Chinese processes, this course was a necessity so far as exterritoriality goes, but it soon showed itself as a great evil. As the settlements became more prosperous, business multiplied, and tens of thousands of Chinese crowded into the foreign settlement of Shanghai, over whom their own officials exercised but a limited and circuitous jurisdiction. The friction attending such an *imperium in imperio* is to a certain extent inevitable, and it is greatly augmented whenever either the foreign or the Chinese officials concerned in the resultant "mixed courts" prove unreasonable or obstructive. The Chinese are far less sensitive to the inequality and incidental injustice associated with ex-territorial rights than the Japanese, who, after energetic struggles, have rid themselves of it altogether; but there is no doubt that it has been as vinegar to the teeth and smoke to the eyes of hundreds of Chinese officials, to tens of thousands of subjects, and not less so to the central Government itself, which is thus perpetually reminded of its own shortsightedness, weakness, and inferiority to other "sister nations."

The same treaty of 1842 granted the right of entering the city of Canton, as was done in all the other ports. But the local officials would not, and probably in any case could not, control the people in this particular, and for five years the right of entry was in abeyance, when a British captain, with several vessels of war, captured all the guns in the forts at the Bogue commanding the Pearl River, and forced the authorities to grant larger space for residences and warehouses, and to agree that within two years the city gates should be unconditionally opened, as elsewhere, to all foreigners. But at the expiration of the period named the Emperor ordered the Governor-General to heed the wishes of the people and to

ignore the engagement. As the rights claimed did not seem to have been explicitly enough defined to make the British case absolutely clear, the authorities, acting under orders from London, did not press the matter, and it was not until after the capture of Canton in 1857-58 that the right of free entry to the city was finally conceded.

From this single instance of Canton it is easy for the discriminating reader to perceive that, while external conditions were perpetually altering by the pressure of the irresistible foreign force employed, Chinese resistance remained the same in essence that it had ever been. Within less than fifteen years after China was held to be definitely "opened," the items of complaint on the part of the British had so accumulated, with aggravated and mordant concomitants, that another war was inevitable. With the same disregard of the claims of the Chinese and the same carelessness as to the opinions of the rest of the world which were displayed in the opening of the previous war, this one was begun upon a technicality, and was so conducted at many points as to give occasion for just criticism. Mr. Justin McCarthy will not be suspected of partiality toward the Chinese, but in his "History of Our Own Times," he declared that "the truth is, there has seldom been so flagrant and so inexcusable an example of high-handed lawlessness in the dealings of a strong with a weak nation." The general position and claim of the British were right, and the war was inevitable, but it was full of incidents to be regretted, all of which left behind a sting in the national self-consciousness of the Chinese, who continued to act in defiance of their own repeated and explicit engagements. In the year 1858 the Taku forts were captured after slight resistance, and a treaty was negotiated at Tientsin soon after, the Chinese yielding for fear

TAKU FORTS, OUTSIDE VIEW

TAKU FORTS, INSIDE VIEW

of worse consequences if they did not. Lord Elgin mentions in his Diary feeling "the painfulness of the position of a negotiator who has to treat with persons who yield nothing to reason and everything to fear, and who are at the same time profoundly ignorant of the subjects under discussion and of their own real interests."

The next year the ratifications of the British, French, and American treaties were to be exchanged, and for the first two of them Peking had been expressly designated as the place. This point the Chinese had yielded because there seemed no other way, but they had meanwhile greatly strengthened the Taku forts, stretching a boom across the Pei Ho, and when the British fleet advanced to proceed to Tientsin as agreed, it met with a stubborn resistance, for which it was not prepared, and on attempting to land, the forces were repulsed, with the serious loss of 89 killed and 345 wounded.

It was not until more than a year later that the British and French as allies once more took the Taku forts (from the rear), and, forcing their way to the capital of the Empire, compelled the signing of a new treaty, which was to mark a new era. This important event was attended by many of those singular phenomena which seem to differentiate the Chinese from the rest of the race. Tientsin and T'ung Chou, the only cities on the way to Peking, capitulated on their own account, furnishing supplies to the invading army, on condition that the cities themselves should not be disturbed. One of the most useful arms of the British service was the Hongkong coolie regiment, which did valuable and indispensable work with great cheerfulness and success. When some of these were captured by the Chinese generals, instead of being promptly beheaded, they were sent back minus their cues. The treachery of the Chinese in seizing Mr.

Parkes and others who had gone on to T'ung Chou to arrange the terms of peace was punished by the total destruction of the Emperor's Summer Palace, as well as other places of Imperial resort in the neighbourhood, as "a solemn act of retribution," and it is only within recent years that the destruction thus wrought by wholesale—for which there was undoubtedly abundant provocation—has been partially repaired.

Thus, much against its will, the Chinese Government had been forced into relations with the rest of the world, by means of a series of treaties which, through the favoured-nation clause, enabled each to partake of all the advantages of the rest, as vessels, to quote Dr. Martin's felicitous simile, are all raised to the same level by the small quantity of water in a single lock.

In order to estimate aright the subsequent behaviour of the Chinese, it is necessary to take account of the Chinese point of view in regard to a great variety of matters, all of which were brought within the purview of the treaties, and each one of which made endless discussions and perpetual friction. The Treaty of Tientsin was made with four Powers, and the tariff was incorporated as a constituent part of it, so that, unless all these Powers could at some future time be brought to unite upon a revision, for which no provision was made, there could be no relief for the inequalities and injustice of the rate, and for numerous other galling provisos, in regard to which the Chinese knew next to nothing, but by which, once adopted, they were tied hand and foot. This state of things still continues, and it is impossible to say how much influence it has had upon successive generations of Chinese in making them restive under restrictions imposed *ab extra,* and rigidly enforced. If we suppose the case reversed, and our own country compelled to admit

every class of goods at a uniform rate of five per cent. *ad valorem* duty, it will be readily perceived that we should soon have abundant work cut out for the Secretaries of State, of War, and of the Navy.

The coolie traffic which had sprung up in the south of China, and which had its centre at the port of Macao, was the occasion of immitigable woe to China, scarcely excelled by anything within contemporaneous history. Special commissioners have been sent to Cuba and to Peru within the period since the Treaty of Tientsin has been in operation, and their reports have fully sustained the worst charges against this species of "labour system" and its concomitants. The Chinese theory has always been, in effect, that those subjects who voluntarily expatriated themselves thereby forfeited protection, and whatever befell them concerned themselves only, and not the Manchu Government in Peking. But when international law began to be imparted to the Chinese as a text-book, they gradually awakened to a sense of the grievous wrongs which their people had suffered and are still at intervals undergoing in the United States and Australia. When individual Americans have been ill treated in China, the United States Government has made it a "case," and prosecuted it to a successful issue. When Chinese in Rock Springs and many other mining towns have been murdered wholesale, it has often been thought sufficient to point out to the Chinese Ambassador, or to any inquisitive Chinese officials, like Li Hung Chang, that this particular act was wrought in "a Territory," which is a partly settled region over which the governmental control is loose and imperfect, or else that these acts happened in a "a State," over which, by the Constitution of the United States, the General Government has no jurisdiction at all. In either case, the friends of the killed or

injured Chinese returned to their own land filled with enthusiasm for the "equal rights" which are demanded abroad and denied at home. The growing influence and largely increased circulation of native newspapers, as full of sensational falsehoods as the most "yellow journals" of our advanced civilization, give to complaints of this sort a weight which a generation since they wholly lacked, and a single reported instance of this kind may be the fertile microbe out of which there later springs a harvest of whirlwind.

It may be said that by this Treaty of Tientsin, the Empire of China was introduced, by no wish of her own, and against her will, into what was termed the "sisterhood of nations"—a relationship of which the rulers of China knew nothing and for which they cared less. But, having been forced into it, the Chinese, with their native pliability, proceeded to adapt themselves to their new environment. The forty years remaining, between the signing of the Treaty of Tientsin and the Boxer uprising in the spring of 1900, may for convenience be divided into five principal periods, the close of each marked with some event of capital importance to China and to foreigners. Of these periods the first extends from 1860 to the Tientsin massacre in June, 1870. During the first half of this decade China was still struggling with the Taiping rebellion. In the second half the Burlingame Mission was despatched to Western lands to emphasize and expand the "sisterhood of nations" idea, but the death of its principal agent, for whom it was named, put an end to the hopes built upon it.

The second of the five periods named was from 1870 to 1875, when the murder, by the criminal connivance of local Chinese mandarins, of a young British officer named Margary, on an official tour through Yünnan to the border

of Burmah, almost brought about a rupture between China and Great Britain. Sir Thomas Wade hauled down his Legation flag and left Peking for Chefoo, where he was followed not long after by Li Hung Chang, upon whom for a quarter of a century the burden of "peace-talking" under difficult conditions has been thrust. Sir Thomas was an "old China hand" of long experience and great knowledge of the country and its language, but he was violent in temper and often eccentric in judgment. It is vain now to raise questions as to the might-have-beens, yet, in view of the prestige of Great Britain at that time, and the absence from the diplomatic stage as important factors of several Powers which have since become influential, not to say dominant, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that an invaluable opportunity to sow the seeds of great changes and reforms in China was lost, with almost no gain but the opening of a few more treaty ports.

It was in this period that the famous Educational Mission was sent to the United States, mainly through the influence of Mr. Yung Wing, who was at once a Chinese and an American, a graduate of Yale University, and a true lover of his people. The plan was that a select body of young Chinese should be educated in Western fashion so as to be ready to take prominent places in the regeneration of the new China. It was carried out with zeal, discrimination, and success, but this very success was eventually an allotropic form of failure. The young men became Americanized, clearly recognized the error of Chinese traditional ideas, and were filled with enthusiasm for permeating at once the inert mass of Chinese conservatism with the leaven of their new conceptions and convictions. As soon as this was clearly perceived by a new commissioner, all the students were straightway

ordered home, where they were literally young men without a country, the butt of the tyranny of narrow-minded and obstructive Taotais who wished to make them realize that their newly acquired foreign notions could not and would not be tolerated in old China. Their subsequent career was disappointing alike to themselves and to the promoters of the Mission. Many of them did good service in a limited way, but not one enjoyed the opportunities or exerted the influence which had been justly expected. One of the most courageous and hopeful of the number, Mr. Kin Ta T'ing, was shot, probably by mistake, during the attack on the foreign settlement of Tientsin.

There can be little doubt that one lamentable and unforeseen effect of this promising effort to enlighten the darkness of China was to make a large circle of influential Chinese officials perceive with increased clearness the "irreconcilable conflict" of ideas between the East and the West, and to increase the bitterness of their feelings toward the domineering Occidentals. This was recognized to some extent, although imperfectly at the time, and later became still more evident.

The end of this period was marked by a long and desultory war with France, caused on the Chinese side by the aggressions of France, and on the side of France by Chinese obstinacy and deceit. The Chinese for the first time learned to discriminate one nationality from another while hostilities were in progress, but protected all non-combatants alike, even the French. By agreement of the Powers Shanghai was left undisturbed, and hostilities were confined to ports of minor importance. The Chinese were accused by the French of having contributed to the defeat at Langson, the principal fortress of the northern frontier of Tongking, from which the French

had been repulsed with heavy loss. The Chinese offered to renew negotiations, but the French were greatly exasperated, and demanded an indemnity from the Chinese Government. When this was refused the matter was put into the hands of Admiral Courbet, who first blockaded the coast of Formosa, and then took up his position ten miles below the city of Fu Chou, where he drew up his nine vessels opposite the eleven wooden boats of the Chinese, demanding the immediate surrender of the forts and the fleet, although there had been no declaration of war up to that time. All but one of the Chinese ships were destroyed within a few minutes, and 3,000 Chinese were killed. Pres. Geo. B. Smyth, of the Anglo Chinese College at Fu Chou, mentioned in an article in the North American Review, that "The bodies of the dead floated out to sea on the tide, many of them being borne back on the returning current, and for days it was hardly possible to cross the river anywhere between the anchorage and the sea, twenty miles below, without seeing some of those dreadful reminders of French treachery and brutality. The people of the city were roused to fury, and the foreigners would have been attacked but for the presence of American and British gunboats anchored off the settlement to protect them." To the Chinese this protracted scuffle with France was of importance as showing that foreigners were no longer irresistible and invincible, while impartial spectators were agreed that China had much just ground for national resentment.

After the ensuing peace, China muddled on in the old way. Influential memorials insisted upon railways, the telegraph having already been widely extended a few years previous. Other influential memorials presented counter considerations, and although formal Imperial permission was given about this time for a railway from

Tientsin to Peking, action and reaction just balancing and neutralizing each other, nothing was done. But the few miles of railway from the Tangshan mines to the head of a canal connecting with the Pei Ho, under the wary and sagacious management of Mr. Kinder, the British engineer in charge, gradually developed into a line covering the whole distance to Tientsin, superseding the canal, and teaching a valuable object-lesson. If other introducers of Western innovations into China had been as patient, as resourceful, and as tactful as Mr. Kinder, the resultant friction would have been far less and the forward progress far greater.

In the summer of 1891 occurred a series of terrible riots in the Yangtze Valley, which destroyed several foreign lives (not all the victims being missionaries) and much property. The events of that year have an important bearing upon the great outbreak nine years later, most of the underlying causes being general and permanent. These will be referred to in detail later on, but it is well to note here that in the copious discussion which ensued among well-informed residents in China there was great divergence of opinion both as to the causes and as to the true significance of the events themselves. This fact is of special interest as illustrating the extraordinary difficulty of comprehending the complex phenomena of Chinese contemporaneous history and the necessity for a cautious suspense of judgment.

The war with Japan (1893-94), which marks the close of a fourth period, was of momentous results to China. It pricked "the China bubble," and demonstrated, to such Chinese as knew the facts, that their country was fitly symbolized by the forty-eight wooden shutters to the ports of the towers over the massive gates of Peking, which are decorated with the painted muzzles of large cannon.

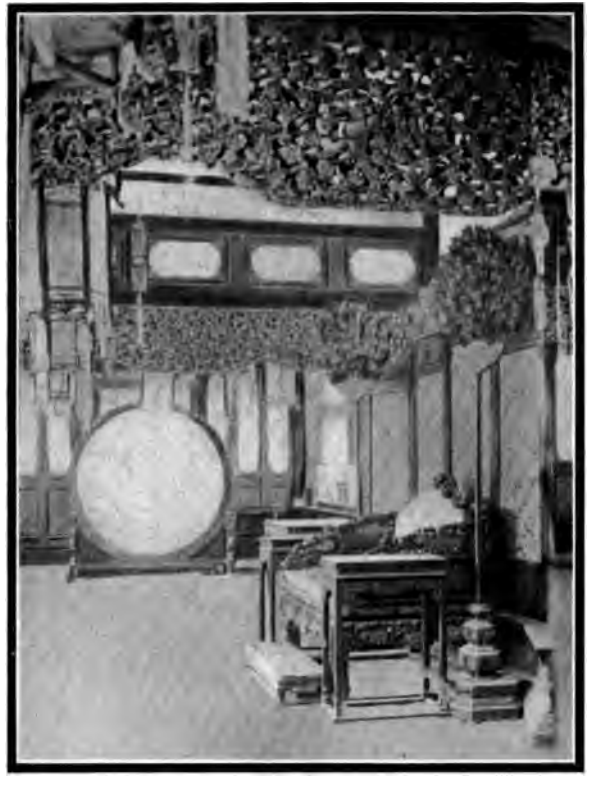
China was shown to be a hollow sham, a painted gun on a wooden background, a giant manacled by a race of "pygmy dwarfs." Her unpaid, ill-fed, ill-armed, ill-drilled, and badly led troops were simply forced to fly. What else could they do? All the best friends of China, who had hoped for her own sake to see her rally, were grievously disappointed, and most of them speechless with disgust at the revelation of her hopeless corruption. (This was not true, however, of them all. The late Professor Park defended his former views on the ground that he had always maintained that, *in the long run*, the Chinese would come out ahead!) It is a time-honoured saying that Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other. Despite the past, there seemed every reason to suppose that now at last this would be true of China. No one has written an autobiographical account of the sensations and emotions of a whale with a harpoon in its back and a boatload of whalers at the end of the rope. In the case of China there were several boats' crews all bent on large consignments of oil from the stranded monster. Formosa was lost, an enormous indemnity was to be paid in "spot cash," and a greater peril than either or both was just coming into clear sight. Some able men in China clearly perceived the root of her troubles, and numerous memorials suggested many remedies, or rather alleviations, of her ills. It is not difficult to see where a boat took the wrong channel and drifted into rapids; but to be able against the irresistible current to get it out is another matter.

During all this later period, one of the chronic sources of misunderstanding—or rather of irreconcilable controversy—between Western nations and the Chinese has been the Audience question. To the uninstructed in Oriental affairs it might seem a minor matter with what ceremonies Foreign Ministers are received at Peking, when

once they are allowed to be received at all. But the governments of all nations, rightly apprehending the importance of a precedent which should not only omit the "kotow," but sharply differentiate equal nations from the numerous dependent and tributary States with which Chinese history is filled, united to make common cause, and in June, 1873, the young Emperor received the envoys from Western lands in the manner befitting their rank and office as legates from sister powers. But even this victory, after a long and fiercely contested battle, was not regarded as complete, on account of the unsuitability of the particular building chosen, which was held to have associations with tribute and inferiority. Little by little these difficulties have been overcome, until the climax of triumph was attained in the early months of 1899, when the Empress Dowager herself received the wives of the Foreign Ministers in a special place, and with every token of cordiality and esteem, personally welcoming every one of them, and murmuring gently to each one the assuring aphorism that we are all "one family," dismissing them, after some hours, with a handsome present, full of admiration for her Majesty and hopes for China. At the instance of the foreign ladies of the Legations, this touching interview was repeated at the beginning of the year 1900, under like conditions. Five months later her Majesty was issuing edicts which ordered her troops, in large numbers and constantly recruited with fresh men, to throw Krupp shells and fire Mauser and Männlicher bullets into the dwelling-places of these same ladies from the West, with a view to their speedy extinction, thus leaving only the Chinese (and Manchu) contingent of the "one family" surviving.

This, then, was the outcome of thirty-five years of the compulsory "sisterhood of nations" business. From the

ENTRANCE TO EMPRESS DOWAGER'S PALACE



AUDIENCE ROOM OF EMPRESS DOWAGER

standpoint of the wise and impartial foreigner (if there is such a one) China's calamities "served her right." She should have kept her treaties, listened to reason, and taken sound advice while it was yet time. From the point of view of the Chinese, most of her troubles had themselves come directly through treaties which she did not want but could not escape, the meshes of which were steadily becoming smaller in size and more closely drawn. Is it surprising that, from Chinese premises and with Chinese limitations of experience, knowledge, foresight, and insight, they should hate the very name "treaty," and be filled with wrath and bitterness toward those who had chained China to the bond-service of this capacious and rapacious tyrant, always demanding what was impossible to grant, and then extorting more because something had been refused or left unfulfilled? "Who yield nothing to reason and everything to fear," were the pregnant words of Lord Elgin, already cited—comprising within themselves the entire future history of China to the end of the century.

The brief but important years since the treaty of Shimonoseki are still more replete with events directly conducing or indirectly contributing to the late cataclysm. These, however, may be best treated by themselves in a later chapter.

III

PROTESTANTS IN CHINA

IN considering the animosity of the Chinese towards the men from the West it is neither possible nor desirable to attempt to run too sharp a line of cleavage between them, for in the essentials they are all alike on the same footing. No further rationale of the dislike of a Chinese for those who are not Chinese is necessary than the mere statement that they are *not* Chinese. Whatever may have been the case in earlier dynasties, during the domination of the Manchu Tartars outsiders have been looked upon with jealousy and distrust. The Manchu rulers remember how their own ancestors stepped into an imperial city and a splendid palace without the smallest effort, and, with a not unnatural jealousy, they wish to keep at a distance any Power which showed itself able to do the same. This strong feeling of the Imperial family, shared by the princes and nobles, was easily communicable to the rest of the people of the Empire, for in China the prince is the dish and the people are the water: if the dish is round, the water will be round; if the dish is square, the water will be square also.

But in the case of Christianity, it must be admitted that there are certain special reasons for distrust. The terrible Taiping rebellion, which overspread the greater part of the Empire, devastated the fairest provinces and ruined the largest cities for the period of fifteen years, may be said to owe its origin solely to an impulse re-

ceived by its founder, Hung Hsiu Ch'üan, from reading Christian books and conversing with Chinese Christians and an American missionary named Roberts. It had for one of its objects the destruction of idols and the substitution of a different form of worship, which speedily became corrupt, egotistical, and blasphemous. Yet it was many months before the true nature of this great movement disclosed itself, and in the meantime there were many foreigners who looked upon it with undisguised favour, hoping that, if guided aright, it might prove the means of regenerating the Empire and of putting aside the reigning dynasty. But the extravagant pretensions and preposterous claims of the Taiping leaders soon rendered this impossible; and all foreign interest in the rebellion as a movement soon fell to forty degrees below zero. But there were many foreign adventurers who helped it on from mercenary motives, and the whole train of circumstances connected with the movement cannot have been without its influence in creating antipathy to Westerners, and suspicion of Christian teaching.

The Chinese have been more or less familiar with the religion of the "Lord of Heaven" for many hundred years, whereas the Protestant faith has been widely diffused only within the past half-century—a short period measured on the dial-plate of Chinese chronology. The Roman Catholic Church has an external and a visible unity which appears to be totally lacking in the Protestants, who came from nobody knows where, for nobody can say what reason, settling at frequent intervals of space all over the Eighteen Provinces, having previously journeyed everywhere, generally selling books, often dispensing medicines, constantly preaching, and keeping the minds of the multitude in more or less of a ferment as to what it is all about. More than thirteen years since,

the writer, with a companion, was travelling on one of the principal highways of the province toward the capital of Shantung. An old man squatting by the roadside peered at the party in a surly manner, muttering to himself as we passed: "One unceasing stream!" It was easy to read his thought in his face—by no means a universal experience in China. He could remember when there were no foreigners throughout the whole region; then there was one a year, or three in two years. After that they began to appear in pairs, later still in droves, with women and children, and now it is "one unceasing stream." He did not like it—why, he might or might not have been able to tell, but it was evident that he thought he had fallen upon evil days, and that the old were better.

To the instinctive national dislike of the intrusion of the men from beyond the Ocean is to be added the yet more pronounced antipathy of the literary class of China to any and all who seem to them to be endeavouring to introduce into China any "instruction" which shall in any wise come into competition with that of the sages of antiquity. To suppose that anything could be added to their wisdom is as arrogant an assumption to the orthodox Confucianist as it would be to a Christian for one to claim that an appendix to the New Testament is to be looked for which shall be of equal value and authority with its twenty-seven books. The scornful wonder with which the very conception of such supplementary teaching is greeted by the typical Confucianist contains in itself the germs of all the troubles which missionaries experience in China; just as a barrel of whisky was declared by an experienced North American Indian to hold "a thousand songs and fifty fights." For in China the balance of social power is always with the representatives of the

literary class, from the common school-teachers and graduates up to the retired officials who are at the head of the gentry of the region in which they live. Whenever the actual officials and the literary class not in office unite in any view of a practical matter, they are as sure to carry the people with them as strong gusts from the mountains are certain to stir the waters of shallow lakes. "The wind blows and the grass bends." It is probably too wide a generalization to say that there are no anti-missionary riots which are not directly incited by scholars, although this is sometimes claimed; but the general rule is unmistakable.

In so much promiscuous preaching as is done by Protestant missionaries, mingling at all times with all classes of the people all over China, it is impossible that there should not be many occasions for offense on the part of the most self-restrained Confucianist. Not all missionaries are equally prudent and experienced, and it is quite possible by an unguarded expression to alienate the sympathy of even the most friendly Chinese—and few Chinese can be said to be truly friendly at the outset, an impartial neutrality being the most that can be hoped for. That Protestant missionaries are in the habit of speaking slightingly of Confucius and Mencius, or of undervaluing their inestimable service to China, is not to be lightly charged or readily believed; but such cases there have been and there are, and very unfortunate results might follow from any one of them. Indeed, there are many missionaries who have been long in China to whom it becomes more and more difficult (and not more and more easy, as might be expected) to speak of the history and the literature of China to non-Christian hearers without saying either too much or too little.

The fact that Christians refuse to conform to the cus-

toms of the country is, to the literati especially, a heinous, an unpardonable, offense. It is a saying of great antiquity in China that upon entering a village one should learn what is customary, and upon entering a country ascertain what is forbidden—with a view, that is, to conforming to the custom, and eschewing what is for any reason taboo. But here is a set of teachers, alien to China, who deliberately narcotize the Chinese themselves, so that they presently become obstinate nonconformists. In some parts of the Empire temple worship and idolatrous rites are of far greater importance than in other parts, but everywhere the crucial question is, What shall be done with regard to ancestral worship? and upon this point the rigid demands of custom and the verdict of the enlightened Chinese conscience remain at variance.

There is probably much that is infelicitous in the mode of discussing this subject with the Chinese, and many unproved assumptions are not improbably made; especially as the questions which Christianity immediately raises in regard to these rites are such as the Chinese have never formulated for themselves, and perhaps imperfectly comprehend when they are explained. There is also an inherent ambiguity in the Chinese words which must of necessity be employed, as when the character translated "worship" also denotes "to pay one's respects," or "to behave with propriety." Perhaps the best possible way of dealing with the difficult topic would be the historical one, in which it may be shown (as has been done by Christian Chinese scholars) that the present usages are neither ancient nor authoritative, and that the real meaning which underlies the Chinese idea in ancestral worship is not ignored by Christianity, and can be actually expressed in its completeness without any violation of conscience. But to this method of procedure there are seri-

ous if not fatal obstacles. The mass of those who can be induced to listen to the claims of Christianity are not those with whom the historical method is possible, since the greater part of them have no education and many of them cannot even read. With such it is literally indispensable to deal as with children, imparting first so much of instruction as may enable them to comprehend the moral demand made upon them, and following with the "categorical imperative"—Thou shalt, or Thou shalt not—the reasons for which are apprehended only at a later stage.

We are not concerned at this time either to defend the almost universal judgment of the Christian Church in China in regard to the worship of ancestors, or to inquire by what means some *via media* may be employed to combine reverence to man and worship to God, so that neither shall infringe upon the other. Our object is simply to make it clear that we recognize the present attitude of the Christian Church (Protestant and Catholic alike) as a great bar to the spread of the Gospel in China, and perhaps the most potent single cause of Chinese hostility.

In one of his wonderfully informing and frank volumes concerning the progress of "Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet," the Abbé Huc relates a conversation held by his Majesty K'ang Hsi with Monseigneur Maigrot, Bishop of Colon, upon the true value of the Chinese ancestral rites. Having argued a long time with the inflexible bishop, the Emperor, wishing to test his alleged knowledge of the Chinese language, proposed to him to read the four characters inscribed over the Hall of Audience. The prelate, according to his adversaries the Jesuits, could read only two of them, and could not explain any (a circumstance which did not in the least prejudice his character as a man fully qualified to come to an opinion

upon this subject, or even as one having a good acquaintance with Chinese). The assumption of the Emperor would certainly be, however, that a European who could not interpret an inscription had no right to assume to teach the scholars of China what their own usages mean. Monseigneur Maigrot was no doubt mortified and properly extinguished, and K'ang Hsi was triumphant (as an Emperor ought to be); but the former certainly had his private thoughts, and one of them was that a question of this nature is not to be finally decided in this way. Neither the dictum of an Emperor nor the bull of a Pope will in the end fetter the educated conscience of the Chinese race. Meantime Christianity is seriously handicapped, and many who know nothing of the Chinese language, who have never studied the subject of ancestral worship at first hand, and who have no overmastering scruples of their own, find no difficulty in demonstrating to their own satisfaction that the whole trouble arises from the unreasonable obstinacy of the foreign missionary and the excessive ductility of the Chinese who follow him.

The refusal of the Christians to perform ceremonies which they regard as idolatrous at the New Year season, at the spring festival when the sacrifices are offered at the graves, at weddings, and especially at funerals, renders them liable to severe persecution, sometimes to the extent of being driven from their homes, deprived of all rights of property, and expelled from the clan to which they belong and from the district in which they were born. It is hard for those who are their shepherds to witness such occurrences (which, with varying degrees of severity, are of constant occurrence) without endeavouring to rectify matters in accordance with the rights expressly guaranteed to Chinese Christians by treaty. In many in-

stances this is accomplished after a more or less severe struggle, and a measure of liberty may be secured for the Church as a result. In many other cases, however, the best that can be obtained is a cessation of active hostilities, with a threat of renewal whenever it suits the convenience of the anti-Christian party. Persecution which has distinct reference to acts of the kind named is generally accompanied with much that is so entangled with the rights of property and numerous, often well-nigh hopeless, complications that it is often exceedingly difficult to know what is best to be done. Those who are most opposed to entering a Chinese yamen find themselves at times forced to do so, and the line between the case which must be taken up and that which is better let alone is sometimes as difficult to determine as a parallel of latitude.

One of the best traits in the Chinese character is a talent for extreme forbearance with ills which cannot be cured. Another characteristic of capital importance (and never more so than during the current year) is the thirst for revenge, which is sometimes cherished for a lifetime, or even for successive generations. It must needs be that offenses come by means of those who, in a society like that of China, enter another society like that of the Christian Church. The occasions for these offenses are as numerous and as diversified as the interests with which human beings have to do. The Christian may have absolute right upon his side, he may have been outraged in some peculiarly shameful manner, as by interference with a wedding, or, even worse, a funeral, and have received no redress. But if he has attempted to secure it, he has not improbably made a mortal foe of his persecutors, and when their opportunity comes they will repay him with compound interest, as has been the case everywhere during the Boxer uprising. That he is

absolutely innocent even of any intent of wrong will not save him, any more than it saved his Master, or has saved His disciples in any age of the world since. But it is seldom that any Chinese case is free from embarrassments arising from the indiscreet acts or words of those concerned. The ingenuity, the malevolence, the pertinacity, and the insincerity of many Chinese when once aroused to attack a foe, is such that if the fire has but been started it must burn itself out, and "whether the stone hits the pitcher, or the pitcher hits the stone, it goes ill with the pitcher." All the preceding paragraph applies equally to troubles in any branch of the Christian Church.

In a large and rapidly growing body like the Protestant Church of China it is impossible that there should not be some unworthy men whose motives are other than that of the "pursuit of doctrine," and who perceive the leverage which the connection with influential and presumptively opulent foreigners will give. Some of these men will inevitably bring the body to which they have joined themselves into disrepute before they can be discovered and expelled. So far as we know, it is the universal practice of all Protestant branches of the Christian Church to give to men of this stamp no encouragement whatever, yet it cannot be doubted that they have done the churches much harm, both directly and indirectly; and in a time of general hostility to the "foreign instruction" no such instance will be forgotten or forgiven. The magistrate whose prejudice, partiality, injustice, and inefficiency have been disturbed by those who insist upon having wrongs righted, has no love for the unwelcome intruders. While all is fair weather he represents himself to the Protestants as their fast friend (although opposed to the grasping demands of the French); but once the storm has broken, this same official summons the gentry and the

village headmen by turns, and imparts to each of them the information that his own views have always been unreservedly hostile to every species of the foreign devil genus, and that now is the time to be rid of them once for all.

Wherever there has been friction in securing property, which is not unlikely to have been the case wherever any mission has had occasion to buy, there are always old scores which some one is glad to settle by the lurid light of a riot. The neglect of, or, still more, the refusal to participate in, temple worship, while of much less importance than is the case with what pertains to the clan, is certain to incur criticism and the active ill will of those who are interested in the financial aspects of "a creed outworn."

Persistent resistance to demands for *pro rata* contributions to the fund for holding theatrical exhibitions or the performance of the Taoist high mass necessarily irritates a wide circle of Chinese. Should the proposed celebration be given up for this reason, the animosity felt toward the cause of this undesirable result is shared by the main participants, and also by the public, which is always athirst for some excitement in the dead level of the monotonous Chinese daily life. If the Christians stand aloof and withhold their quota, others must pay so much the more; and as the passion for theatricals is such that a Chinese as a rule can no more withstand the temptation to witness a performance than he can help shaking when set upon an insulating stool with a stream of electricity pouring through his body, it will be singular if his presence even on the outskirts of the crowd does not lead to trouble. That the Buddhist and Taoist priests have not sooner and more generally recognized the "divisive and perversive" nature of Christianity in relation to those

religions, only displays the intellectual imbecility of those who are thought sufficient to represent these faiths in the care of the temples and the public ceremonials. It has been generally noticed that during the Boxer disturbances priests have often been prominent, sometimes as leaders. The only wonder is that this has not happened long ago.

It would be unfair not to point out that when a large body of Occidentals, imperfectly acquainted with the Chinese language, etiquette, modes of thought, and intellectual presuppositions, begins on a large and indeed universal scale, the preaching of an uncompromising system of morals and doctrines like Christianity, there must be much which, unconsciously to them, arouses Chinese prejudices. How best to present the Gospel to non-Christian Chinese is a question upon which few who have given their lives to the task are willing to admit that they have reached a definite conclusion. However the lofty claims of Christianity may be set forth, they cannot fail in China, as they have never failed elsewhere, to give offense. Perhaps there is no single objection to Christianity in this Empire which has not been often urged in other ages under other skies; but that circumstance does not make the propounder of these claims in China any the less of a Barbarian, or more worthy of thoughtful attention.

The literature of Protestant missions in China may be regarded from quite different points of view. When it is compared with the needs of the teeming millions for whom it is prepared, its poverty and inadequacy are keenly recognized. When it is considered that a literature is a growth and not a manufacture, the progress already made seems at least hopeful. But it cannot be denied that, taken as a whole, it resembles the image made for Nebuchadnezzar, in that it is composed of gold, silver,

brass, iron—and mud. The foreign-educated author of a bitter diatribe against Christianity which appeared nine years ago in a Shanghai daily newspaper termed this literature a " mass of impenetrable darkness "—a charge which refutes itself, since masses of darkness at least do no harm, and with the introduction of light, automatically disappear. During the past few decades the amount of books of all sorts circulated by the various Tract Societies and Bible Societies throughout China is well-nigh incomputable. It is impossible to say what effect they have had, but it is certain that much light has been diffused and many torpid intellects and spirits have been aroused. On the other hand, there are distinct indications that an unwonted activity in the circulation of Christian literature was the efficient cause of the production of the acrid and obscene Hunan pamphlets. This may be held to show how effective the distributing machinery has become, but it likewise imposes upon the wise the severest self-restraint lest the incidental evil overbalance the direct good.

The almost universal use of Western medicine as the handmaid of Christianity has done more to abate the prejudice of the Chinese than any other single cause, yet it has not been an unmixed benefit. Large numbers of those interested in the Chinese practice of medicine, and in the sale of Chinese drugs have done their best to prejudice a suspicious and a credulous people against foreigners, especially in their crafty plans to " buy the hearts of the people." The failure to relieve incurables, occasional unfortunate results from surgical operations, and, most of all, the steady flow of undiluted falsehoods regarding foreigners, their methods and their designs, even in the immediate presence of wide and brilliantly successful medical work, show how hard is the problem which

hospitals and dispensaries help to solve. Collating the data for half a century, aggregating the number of treatments, making a reasonable estimate of the prejudices which have been gradually dissolved and the animosities changed to warm friendship by means of the medical work, one is justly delighted at the total result. Yet when the blind fury of the multitude was once aroused, dispensaries and hospitals were wrecked perhaps first of all, and no voice was found to remonstrate on the ground that they had proved themselves worthy of confidence and continuance. It has not infrequently happened that the literati have opposed the erection of these buildings by every art within their power. On the other hand, officials of all ranks have been their patrons and their friends, and the good which has been accomplished through this agency during the past generation is immeasurable, and will yet bear a rich harvest.

The diversity of Protestant organizations has been already mentioned as the source of some confusion to the Chinese by reason of the lack of co-ordination in their movements and methods. Yet it is important to guard against the widespread fallacy that the Chinese infer from the phenomena which they see that Christianity is full of self-contradictions and that its mutual claims refute one another. This, we have no hesitation in saying, is a Western idea attributed to the Chinese, as distinguished from one which naturally occurs to the Chinese mind. Diversity in unity is the keynote of much which relates to China and the Chinese. They are no more surprised or offended at seeing Christianity presented in many varying lights than they are with their own "Eight Diagram" sects, each one of which is a segment of a mystic whole, which is only completed by the sum of all its parts. It is when the various divisions of Protestants ignore, or possibly

antagonize, one another, that the Chinese sense of unity is offended—as is our own. It is, therefore, on every account important that advantage should be taken of the present effacement of old landmarks to set the new ones in the places where they ought to be with a view to the highest efficiency and the greatest economy of labour, so as to secure the best results.

The constitution and the methods of the Protestant churches which have been long working in China have freed them from any reasonable suspicion of being political agencies of any kind. There have been and still continue to be many infelicities, imperfections, and faults in their administration, and in the incidental relations to the non-Christian Chinese. Yet, after the worst has been said which can truthfully be charged, it remains a fact that the evils complained of were minor and subsidiary, most of which would naturally become less and less with the lapse of time, and no one of which, nor all of them combined, threatened the interruption of the growing friendliness of the people and the more tolerant attitude of the intelligent officials.

In the five years which had elapsed since the close of the war with Japan, the change on the part of the Chinese in the direction of a better understanding of the nature and aims of Protestant missions was marked. The literature issued by them, especially that part of it prepared by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge among the Chinese, had penetrated the Imperial Palace, and was eagerly perused in the intensely anti-foreign province of Hunan. Had the reforms planned by the Emperor in 1898 been carried into even partial execution, the influence which must have been exerted by the writings and the teachings of Protestant missionaries would have been formative and directive at a critical period of Chinese his-

tory. For the precipitation of the tremendous crisis which has occurred, the proportion of responsibility of Protestant missions is undoubtedly real, but it is a small and a relatively insignificant factor.

IV.

ROMAN CATHOLICS IN CHINA

FOR a Protestant missionary to discuss impartially the causes of Chinese animosity to foreigners, and to Roman Catholics in particular, may be considered difficult, owing to his liability to be influenced by what Herbert Spencer calls "the bias of class." There is another embarrassment, however, far more serious, which it is impossible to escape. In any controversy it is important to hear both sides before coming to a decision. But the Chinese side of their differences with the Catholics is the only side of which, as a rule, foreigners in China outside of that Church ever hear anything. It is the more necessary, therefore, to exercise caution in the examination of a subject some of whose elements are unknown, and the conclusion at which we may arrive will be one of probability rather than of demonstrated certainty.

There is a considerable literature dealing more or less directly with the subject, and those who wish for a fuller discussion than the mere outline here possible may find material in numerous special works upon China, in books of travel, and in the current periodical literature of the Far East. In addition to the excellent essays of the Rev. Gilbert Reid, mention may be made of two pamphlets by Mr. Alexander Michie, recently republished in book form in the United States with the title "China and Christianity." These, while suggestive and free from partisanship, prove nothing, lead nowhere, and are as full of un-

proved assumptions as a shad is of small bones. To a friend who remarked to him that many of his arguments are very easily answered, the author genially replied that he was quite aware of it, and had some thoughts of replying to them himself!

One of the important documents in the comprehension of this theme is a Memorandum or Circular of the Chinese Government through the Tsung Li Yamen, communicated to the French Chargé d'Affaires in the year 1871. It is printed in full in Mr. Michie's book, and a brief summary of its conclusions may be found in Mr. Frederick Williams's "History of China." This paper is said to have been prepared by Wên Hsiang, "the most liberal, fair, and open-minded Minister that has ever been in the Foreign Board." Mr. Michie thinks it "almost the only example of true initiative with which it can be credited." It by no means follows, because a formal set of charges is made in a Chinese state paper, that the allegations are true; yet when they are incorporated in a minute prepared by a man of the type of Wên Hsiang, and communicated to the French Government in a friendly manner at a time when there is no specific case pending, and with the avowed object of preventing the recurrence of a disaster such as the Tientsin massacre (which had just happened), the presumption is that the Chinese Government believed the statements to be facts. I am not aware that the specific instances quoted have been disproved, as after the lapse of nearly thirty years they still continue to be cited in every fresh discussion of the subject. The Memorandum suggests eight rules by the observance of which the difficulties already experienced might be done away with, and each is supported by alleged instances of Roman Catholic aggression. The whole paper is directed at that Church, the Protestant Churches at that time not

having assumed sufficient prominence to be an object of governmental notice. The foreign Ministers, for the most part, delayed their replies for such a length of time that there were, unfortunately, no practical results from the presentation of the Circular, but it remains a landmark in the history of missionary relations with China. Without examining in detail the specific recommendations of the Yamen (which would occupy too much space), it will be sufficient to cite passages here and there, while summarizing what we suppose to be the grounds upon which the Roman Catholic Church is specially disliked by the Chinese.

In the first place, it is believed to have a political aim, and to be itself a political agent. This ineradicable conviction dates back to the days of the early emperors of the present dynasty, even if it were not held by the Mings. It was directly connected with the decision of the Pope against the authority of the greatest monarch who ever occupied the throne of China, that the rites involved in ancestral worship are idolatrous, and therefore interdicted; whereas K'ang Hsi himself expressly declared that these rites were civil and in no way religious. The fact that several Pontiffs had successively boxed the compass on this point did not in the least mend the matter; the essential consideration was that an Italian gentleman assumed, and successfully assumed, to tell the subjects of the Emperor of China that the Emperor was wrong on a technical matter of Chinese interpretation. K'ang Hsi was scarcely buried before his son and successor proceeded to set in motion the persecuting powers of the State against the Catholics, and these persecutions have been going on with intermittent sequence ever since. This fact of itself absolutely negatives the facile supposition that Roman Catholic aggressions are the main feature

in the present troubles. To prove too much is to prove nothing. The Chinese are shrewd observers, and they have seen that the presence of a Roman Catholic Bishop in Annam was the thin end of a wedge which has split that country in twain, and brought a part of it under the domination of France. They know that France expelled the Jesuits from her own borders, and that France is the protector of Jesuit and other Catholic missions in China, and they have good ground to suppose that for this significant fact there are substantial reasons.

There is no country where the line between the officials and the people is more sharply drawn than in China. The Roman Catholic Church is a mighty and an ancient hierarchy, and from the point of view of its representatives it is probably not only natural but inevitable that those who wield powers so absolute should openly and universally assume them. Thus the bishops, the spiritual rulers of the whole of a broad province, adopt the rank of a Chinese Governor, and wear a button on their caps indicative of that fact, travelling in a chair with the number of bearers appropriate to that rank, with outriders and attendants on foot, an umbrella of honour borne in front, and a cannon discharged upon their arrival and departure. Into these details the Tsung Li Yamen Circular does not go, but it especially objects to the use of official seals as a mark of rank, citing cases of their employment. All this, and much else, is a part of the settled policy of the Church, and not an accident of this place or of that, and it is a policy which is in many ways repellent to Chinese pride and repugnant to their sense of propriety and fitness. Officials of whatever rank, in whose jurisdiction these ostentatious claims are perpetually made, naturally feel and are at no pains to

conceal a jealousy which is all the more difficult to combat because founded in reason.

By the steady pressure of the French Legation, the claims which the Church has always made for itself were on the 15th of March, 1899, officially granted by the Chinese Government. The edict then issued gave a political status to the ecclesiastics of the Church of a far-reaching character. As soon as these great concessions became known, there ensued a vigorous discussion among the Protestant missionaries in China as to what they were to do in the premises, since it was reported to be the wish of the Chinese Government that a privilege which, for reasons best known to themselves, they had been induced to grant to one set of missionaries, should not be held as a monopoly by them alone. There is to Protestantism no head-centre, and no one is authorized to speak for all branches, or even for any one branch, of the Church; but the consensus of opinion was remarkable that this is a most dangerous privilege, certain to be abused, and inconsistent with the simplicity and the purity of the Protestant Churches.

To realize the nature of the stupendous power thus placed in the hands of Catholic missionaries, it is necessary to take account of a second and cognate reason for Chinese dislike of their organization. In an edict issued nearly ten years before the Memorandum of the Yamen occur the words: "The foreign missionary is not an official, and cannot interfere in public affairs." But the Memorandum a decade afterwards charges that they do thus interfere: "From the information which the Prince and the Yamen have gathered [respecting the duties imposed upon them by their priesthood], these persons [seem

to] found, as it were, among us an undetermined number of States within the State." This means that the Church takes the direction of the acts of the convert, sometimes against the orders of his immediate magistrate, making him feel that his primary allegiance is to the Church, which saves his soul, rather than to the State. This is not given as the Roman Catholic version of the duties of Chinese to China and its rulers, but it is given as the conception which many Roman Catholic Christians naturally come to entertain, and as the view which is almost universally taken by Chinese officials when they are free to express it.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that there is in Chinese courts no such thing as *justice*. Those who are the spiritual leaders of Chinese Christians find themselves, whenever appealed to for advice in the complicated conditions which perpetually arise, in a dilemma. To allow one's flock to be torn in pieces by the " tigers and wolves " of the Yamens is repugnant to the sense of justice which Christianity engenders, and to the innate instincts of the Christian heart. To undertake to defend them in their relations to the network of injustice by which Chinese subjects are enmeshed is to begin a work the consequences of which no man can foresee.

We have no means of knowing upon what theory the Catholic Church proceeds except by her practice, which is sufficiently well known. Every Catholic headquarters is served by able Chinese, some of whom are expert in yamen affairs, and act as lawyers for whoever has a case on hand. This is probably a wise provision, but it is one liable to great abuse. It is common for those who are acting as advance agents of the Catholic Church, in fresh woods and pastures new, to let it be known that, whatever happens to those who identify themselves with

that organization, they will be protected in their lawsuits. It is not claimed that this is done by the orders of any priest, nor is it certain that any priest knows anything of such offers. But that the proposition is constantly made and constantly accepted is certain. No one with any considerable acquaintance with Chinese character would be at a loss to predict the results which must and which do follow. The Chinese bully is a feature of Chinese society. No Chinese bully is so arrogant and so insufferable as he who thinks he has an irresistible foreign backing. In this way lawsuits begin as mold forms in the damp heats of August without assignable cause, all at once and everywhere. Before matters have progressed far the foreign priest appears upon the scene, and the case has become a serious one. It is a perpetual and, so far as appears to an unenlightened observer, an insoluble puzzle by what means the Catholic priest, without visible prestige and often (nay, generally) far from being a *persona grata* to the local magistrate, is able to secure the results which he actually does secure. It is true that he often fails, but then his case is taken up in a manner very different from that which is seen in the instance, say, of a British subject or an American citizen.

It is impossible in a paper like the present to enter into details, but it must suffice to say that, in a somewhat intimate knowledge of mission affairs in several score of counties both in the provinces of Chihli and Shantung, the writer has everywhere heard the charge that the Roman Catholic proceedings at law are unfair and tyrannous. These allegations are often supported by specifications so full and so precise, often so authenticated by corroborative testimony, that it is impossible not to believe them. In a certain county near to the home of the writer the Catholics once had a strong foothold and lost

it. The reason universally given, after the lapse of a generation, was the advocacy of a particularly outrageous claim against a non-Christian on the part of a Catholic aided by a priest. The magistrate, who disliked to antagonize the Church for fear of consequences the nature of which to him at least were not obscure, yet refused to give his decision for a palpable outrage, and, in the presence of the foreign priest, told the parties to the suit that he was incompetent to decide it, and that they must go to the temple of the city-god, each make his oath there, and leave the settlement to high Heaven. The moral effect of this occurrence was to put an end to the Roman Catholic in that county until the present time.

It is a matter of capital importance in connection with this subject that, both by the people and by the officials, the Roman Catholic Church is believed to be the refuge of bad men who can thus evade the laws of China, and, under the shelter of a foreign protection, behave substantially as they please. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the administrators of the affairs of the Church intend that it should be so; we are concerned only to show that it is believed to be true, and that to a certain extent it is true. The Tsung Li Yamen Memorandum contains specifications under this head to which it is not necessary to refer in detail. Without entering more fully into the subject, it must suffice to say that there is an amount of weighty testimony upon this head, which can be collected from all parts of China, much more than sufficient to substantiate the charge.

As an example of the impression which these constant phenomena make upon well-informed and presumptively impartial observers may be cited the following extract from "Overland to China" by Mr. A. R. Colquhoun,

whose wide knowledge of the Chinese Empire, is manifest in this and his previous book, "China in Transformation:"

"The blood of the martyrs is in China the seed of French aggrandizement. France uses the missionaries and the native Christians as *agents-provocateurs;* and outrages and martyrdoms are her political harvest. What the preponderance of her commerce does for England the Catholic protectorate does for France, so that the influence of their respective positions *vis-à-vis* of the Chinese is nearly balanced; but France makes ten times more capital out of her religious material than Great Britain has ever done out of her commercial.[1] Under the fostering care of the French Government the Catholics have become a veritable *imperium in imperio,* disregarding local laws and customs, domineering over their pagan neighbours, and overriding the law of the land. Whenever a Christian has a dispute with a heathen, no matter what the subject in question may be, the quarrel is promptly taken up by the priest, who, if he cannot himself intimidate the local officials and compel them to give right to the Christian, represents the case as one of persecution, when the French consul is appealed to. Then is redress rigorously extorted, without the least reference to the justice of the demand. The assurance that this kind of interference on the part of the foreign power is certain to follow leads, of course, to the grossest abuses being perpetrated by the Christians, and while the French missionary may go far, the native Christian goes infinitely further, in browbeating the authorities and tyrannizing over the people." Then follows the detail of a specific case, and the remark: "It is not surprising that arbitrary proceedings like this should cause the Christians to be

feared and hated, and we need not wonder at the occasional murder of a priest when such feelings are spread generally throughout the country."

In nearly all the cases relating to the Chinese and the Roman Catholics, we are at the disadvantage of knowing only a portion of the case, although the facts are not for that reason invalidated. But there is an important and unfortunately a growing list of causes in which Catholics have deliberately set themselves to injure and sometimes to outrage Protestants, the details of which are wholly within the field of our inquiry, and where we tread upon sure ground. Two such instances may be cited as examples.

In an article published in the "Chinese Recorder" in November, 1899, the Rev. Immanuel Genähr, of the Rhenish Mission, who had been in China sixteen years, gives the details of a shameful attack by a Catholic priest named Julien upon the Rev. Franz Zahn and his native assistants, in which the latter were set upon, knocked down, bound with chains, and treated as criminals unworthy of being allowed to live, all on a fictitious charge of leading a band of robbers, whereas the priest Julien was himself the leader of such a band, which despoiled a village, sacking the houses of Protestant inquirers and converts, doing damage to the extent of thousands of dollars.

These facts were subsequently established in a judicial inquiry held by the French and German Consuls, who agreed that M. Julien should apologize in the presence of the Consuls and Mr. Zahn, which he did, after admitting that he himself led the party which attacked and looted the village in question. He was also required to pay an indemnity, to restore the stolen watch and other articles of property in question, and it was agreed that he should

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FRENCH LEGATION

be transferred to another sphere of labour. In commenting upon this typical case, Mr. Genähr says: "This policy of 'screening infamous men under the protecting banner' of the Church is much to be deplored by every one who is really solicitous for the welfare of the Church; and the fact itself cannot be gainsaid. The eighteen provinces of China echo with the complaints to which it gives rise. Protestant missionaries have learned to reckon with it; and the great Conference in Shanghai in 1901 will have to define its position with regard to this policy."

"During the year 1896 four articles appeared in the "Chinese Recorder" from the pen of the Rev. William Ashmore, D.D., giving a detailed account of "Outrages upon the American Baptist Mission near Swatow," committed by Roman Catholic members, abetted by their priests, involving robbery and virtual rebellion against the local authorities. The matter was taken before the United States Consul at Canton, Mr. Seymour, and from there referred to Peking, where it was investigated by Mr. Denby, the Minister. The facts were proved beyond the possibility of refutation, but the French Minister refused to consider the evidence, and rather than take the matter into the Tsung Li Yamen, where the influence of the French was too complete to be counteracted, the parties to the case were obliged to consent to a weak compromise, by which, the innocent Chinese being released, the guilty criminals were also let out of jail and escaped scot free. In the comments made upon this famous case at the time it was pointed out that such acts are two-edged swords, working ruin in both directions—a prophecy which has since been abundantly fulfilled. Within the past few years the foreign journals in China have contained detailed accounts of numerous instances similar to the foregoing, sometimes in Manchuria, and

again (one of the most noted) in Chêkiang, in which the author of specific charges against the Roman Catholics was the Right Rev. Bishop Moule, of the Church Mission, and his opponent the Catholic Bishop of the province.

A potent source of Chinese animosity to the Roman Catholics is to be found in the fact that by the treaty of 1860 extensive property formerly belonging to the Church was to be restored upon presentation of evidence of the fact of previous possession. Fifteen years before this date, however, a rescript of the Emperor Tao Kuang had allowed the justice of such claims, but specially excepted property which had been converted into temples and dwelling-houses for the people. In the later treaty this exception was omitted, with the result that there has been more or less friction ever since. The Memorandum of the Tsung Li Yamen admits that there is in China a great deal of this property, mentioning that it has often changed owners many times, and had frequently been greatly improved or even rebuilt. "The missionaries take no account of all this; they exact a restitution, and do not even offer the least indemnity. Sometimes they even ask for repairs to be made, or, if not, for a sum of money. Such conduct excites the indignation of the people, who look with no favourable eye upon the missionaries. Such being the case, no friendship can exist."

There are many prominent structures in China which are a constant irritation to the Chinese and an incitement to attack simply from the memories of the past. One of these is the Cathedral at the junction of the Peiho and the Grand Canal at Tientsin, referred to elsewhere, which was erected in 1865 upon ground reclaimed from the Chinese, was destroyed by a mob in 1870, was again seriously threatened when rebuilt in 1897, and is now once more in ruins in 1900. Perhaps there is no cathedral in

the whole Empire against which the feeling of the Chinese is so intensely bitter as the massive, fort-like structure in Canton, which stands upon the site of the former yamen of the Governor-General, Yeh, who was captured by the British when Canton was taken, and was carried to Calcutta, where he died. No one can see this building without perceiving the evident intention to enable it to resist attack, however violent. Mr. Noyes, one of the senior missionaries in Canton, mentions, in an article on "Five Storms of Wrath" in that city (Chinese Recorder, Feb., 1895), that a very intelligent man was heard to say: "We Chinese say that that Cathedral must come down, even if it need be one hundred years hence."

The method of securing property by purchase frequently leaves much bitterness in the minds of the Chinese, which comes to a focus whenever there is an opportunity for the expression of discontent. As a rule, the Chinese dislike to have foreigners buy land and put up permanent buildings anywhere, and it is easy for them to give reasons which from their point of view are conclusive against the use of any particular site which may be chosen. Experience has shown that the highly rudimentary "science" of Fengshui, or geomancy, is never so potent as when used to prevent foreigners from getting a foothold. It is everywhere objected to the Roman Catholics that they have persistently offended the Chinese in this particular, both by insisting upon occupying sites to which there has been on the part of the Chinese violent objection, and by the erection of lofty and substantial structures in commanding positions, where they appear to the Chinese as a perpetual evidence of national humiliation and a constant reminder of foreign aggression. It was the judicious advice of the British Government, in a circular issued a few years since for the information

of missionary societies, "that Chinese prejudice and superstitions should be more carefully considered in the forms and heights of the buildings erected."

The Roman Catholic Church is one of the largest property-owners in some settlements of the open ports of China, as in the French concession of Tientsin, and in Chinkiang, often being the principal landlord. The income from these enormous possessions is used for the support of the Church, in default of those annual contributions upon which Protestants rely. In the interior of the Empire a similar phenomenon is observed in the aggregation of considerable areas of land under the control of the priests, thus gathering small Christian communities. In time of famine we have known small loans made to any who would conform to the conditions, which included definite attendance at religious services, study of the catechism, etc., and the mortgaging to the Church of the land of the person benefited at a fixed rate according to the amount of the loan, with annual grain taxes paid to the Church until the sum should be refunded. Such a mixture of benevolence and business may have its advantages, but it is also certain to cause the shrewd and suspicious Chinese to be more sure than ever that the Church is not only a political but also a landed and a financial power, and in the end the result is morally certain to make it more than ever an object of hostility, as the writer has had occasion himself to know.

The very first of the eight Regulations proposed by the Tsung Li Yamen relates to the subject of Catholic orphanages in China, which have probably excited more ill feeling and led to more attacks upon Catholic life and property than any other single cause. The riot at Tientsin in 1870, and those in the Valley of the Yangtze in

1891, were in several instances directly due to inflammatory tales circulated about these institutions, to the management of which both the Tsung Li Yamen Memorandum and popular clamour make strenuous objection. It is impossible for the Chinese to understand the motive for wholesale benevolence of this sort; and the presence of so many helpless infants, especially when, as sometimes happens, the mortality is large, is immediately connected with the invincible superstition that foreigners wish to mutilate the bodies for the purposes of alchemy, thus turning lead into silver.

The Yamen wish many changes in the management of these orphanages, but their abolition is most desired. "Once the child has entered the house other persons are not allowed to adopt it, nor are the parents permitted to take it back again, nor even to visit it. All this nourishes suspicion and excites the hatred of the people, and by degrees a case like that of Tientsin [the massacre] is arrived at. Although we have denied in a report all those rumours of the tearing out of eyes and hearts, the people, however, still preserve doubts on the subject, and even if we succeed in closing their lips we cannot drive away these doubts from their minds. It is this kind of uneasiness which gives rise to terrible events. It would be a good thing to abolish the foreign orphanages and to transport them to Europe, where they could practice their charity at their ease; it would then belong to the Chinese to come to the aid of these children. Besides, in every province we have numerous orphanages, and yet the foreigners wish to lend us at any price an assistance of which we have not the slightest need. It is certainly with good intentions the foreigners thus act, but it is not the less true that their conduct produces

suspicion and excites anger. It would be far preferable if each one exercised his charity in his own country, and then no lamentable event could arise."

The care of the helpless waifs and strays of Chinese infancy, for whom the Chinese have always done next to nothing, is one of the most gracious of charities, but it has been misunderstood, in part willfully so, by the Chinese from the first, and so it remains to this present time. It is difficult to believe that by the use of wise and conciliatory methods this state of feeling on the part of the Chinese might not be essentially modified, so as at length wholly to disappear.

The fact that the Catholic fathers do not open their chapels for preaching to outsiders, that they conduct no medical work for the people at large, and that they spend their time in comparative seclusion, greatly stimulates the suspicious nature of the Chinese mind to account for what seems to them so strange and so unnatural a life. Mr. Reid quotes a Bible agent who had penetrated to Heng Chou Fu, in Hunan, who remarked that, although foreign priests had been resident there for over two centuries, he never visited a city where the foreigner was a greater curiosity, and adds: "They live in a state of mysterious seclusion which the native vainly attempts to penetrate, and about which he invents the most wonderful stories." Whatever the grounds for so great secrecy about the Catholic establishments and the doings of those who there spend their lives, the general effect upon the outsiders is unhappy in the extreme, and can only serve to give added colour to the irrepressible suspicions which inevitably arise in China concerning anything which is not too obvious to be beyond the reach of unfavourable comment.

It only remains to add to the long catalogue of grounds

of misunderstandings those which have their origin in the rites of the Church. The baptism of infants when at the point of death not unnaturally leads to the grossest misconstruction, especially in connection with the hopeless superstitions about the use to which parts of the human body can be put as a direct means for the transmutation of metals. The practice of extreme unction is even more open to misapprehension, and has probably been the ground of intense hostility for the same reason.

No one who wishes well to the people of China will desire to utter a syllable which shall detract from the good work which the Roman Catholic Church has done, and is at this moment still doing, for the Chinese in all parts of the land. There are in it many noble, self-denying, devout men and women who are freely giving themselves for the benefit of a people who have, as a rule, little perception of what such sacrifices mean. For hundreds of years before the Protestant Churches had awakened from their age-long sleep, the Mother Church was resolutely at work upon the hardest task which she has ever undertaken, a task in which she still perseveres serene and strong, unmoved by hostility or by criticism. Yet, for all that—nay, because of all that—it is the more imperative to call attention, in the most emphatic manner possible to the fact that the present semi-political administration of the Roman Catholic Church in China is bad, and that, in the particulars some of which have been named and others only suggested, it is sowing a harvest of evil. More than twenty-five years of attentive, close-at-hand observation of its methods and its results confirms everything which has been said in the preceding pages. The seeds which have been sown must produce fruit after their kind. It is now nearly thirty years since such a result was expressly predicted by the Memoran-

dum of the Tsung Li Yamen. "How, under these conditions, can we hope that a durable understanding should be established, and to prevent the governors and the governed uniting against them in common hostility? . . . The Prince and the members of the Yamen are impressed with a desire to ward off eventualities so menacing. In fact, they fear, in all sincerity, . . . that so much accumulated bad feeling, causing a sudden explosion, should bring about a catastrophe. It would then be no longer possible for the local authorities, nor for the high provincial functionaries, nor even for the Tsung Li Yamen to assert its authority. In the event of a general rising in China, the Emperor will be able to appoint high dignitaries to order them to assemble everywhere imposing forces; but the greatest rigour does not reach the masses, and where their anger manifests itself there are persons who refuse to yield their heads to the executioner. . . . In short, in the direction of affairs, the important point in China, as in Europe, is to satisfy opinion. If, failing in this duty, oppression and violence are employed, a general rising will at last take place."

The "general rising" predicted nearly thirty years ago has at last taken place. It was not, however, directed against the Roman Catholic Church as such, but against foreigners as foreigners, its banners and handbills ostentatiously putting forth as its watchword, "*Mieh Yang*," "Exterminate Foreigners." Confucius gave as a definition of "reciprocity," "Not to do to others what you would not have others do to you." Those who have followed us thus far will be able to judge for themselves what effect the administration of such an organization as the Roman Catholic Church has proved to be in China during the past sixty years would have if transferred to the soil of any one of the countries which have treaties

with China. There is good reason to believe that there is not one of them in which such causes would not have produced worse results than have been seen in China until the late rising began. The peculiar character of that rising cannot be too often nor too clearly pointed out as due to the fact that it was first tolerated, then fostered, and still later directed by the Chinese Government itself. Its primary sources were race hatred and the political aggressions of Western nations. Yet the universal and deep-seated animosity to the claims and to the practices of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Empire have added greatly to the fury and to the bitterness of the attacks, and will contribute materially to the difficulty of a permanent settlement. A frank recognition of this indisputable fact will be of the greatest service to the interests of the Chinese people, and to the peaceful spread of the religion which, for the welfare of that people, has endured so much persecution and suffered so many martyrdoms.

V

A HALF-CENTURY OF ANTI-FOREIGN RIOTS

THE experience of a large number of foreigners, representing many countries, in an Empire the size of Europe, extended for a period of more than forty years, ought to afford valuable insights into the practical aspects of those relations between the men of the West and the Chinese. Yet there are inherent difficulties in the study of the disturbances to which these relations have given rise which are appreciated more as they are considered longer. The very names of most of the provinces of China are unknown in other lands, and the whole vast territory is generally considered to be too uninteresting, and, in the phrase of Mr. Thomas Taylor Meadows (one of the most intelligent but now quite forgotten authorities upon China), too "ten-thousand-miles-offy" to be seriously considered. Now and then comes the report of an outbreak somewhere along the coast or in the interior, but, unless the circumstances have some special horror connected with them (as has too often been the case), they are soon forgotten, having never been in the least understood. To the permanent residents in the Empire there is another difficulty in the general resemblance of the external phenomena of these disturbances, and the fact that they are seldom far apart in time, so that even the most stalwart memory finds it hard to keep them in mind.

A careful historical and critical examination of each of these riots, with an inquiry into the causes, real and alleged, the *modus operandi,* the amount of damage inflicted, and especially the treatment of the case by the foreign government concerned, would be of great value, particularly as the records of many of them can scarcely be said to be available even to the foreigner in China who has access to libraries, not having been gathered into any permanent form, and existing only in ephemeral publications. It is only possible here, however, to consider a few of the typical riots against foreigners which have occurred within the past forty years, as an aid to a comprehension of the causes of such persistent and malignant attacks. Owing to the fact that missionaries have within the period in question been dispersed all over China, most of the outbreaks have directly assailed them, their houses and chapels; but, as will appear more fully hereafter, violence has been by no means confined to them, so that it is strictly correct to speak of the riots as anti-foreign.

By far the largest of the Protestant organizations in China is the Inland Mission, which was organized about the year 1865 by the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, who has remained at the head of it ever since. In the year 1868 Mr. Taylor, with a companion, began to open a work in Yang Chou, fifteen miles to the north of Chên Chiang, one of the treaty ports of the Yangtze. Yang Chou was a city of three hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants, situated on the Grand Canal. After making efforts to rent some thirty different houses, one was at last found. But the report of hostility at Chên Chiang stirred up the literati to organized effort to prevent the occupation of this place. The populace were inflamed, first by small handbills of a defamatory nature, and, these proving insufficient, by larger ones, until the whole city was on the *qui vive.* At

this juncture the literary examinations occurred. Notice of the intention to attack them was given to the missionaries. Everything that could be done was tried to neutralize these posters and threats, by the admission of the people to see the premises, and by other conciliatory measures, but in vain.

On the 22nd of August the mob attacked the place in earnest, and when it became evident that the repeated messengers sent to the officials would bring no aid, Mr. Taylor and his companion risked their lives in a personal visit to the yamen, where they were kept waiting for three-quarters of an hour, while hearing the shouts of the mob at a distance, destroying the property and not improbably taking the lives of the ladies left in the house. When at last the magistrate appeared, it was to ask insulting questions about the imaginary Chinese children alleged to have been kidnapped, the official promising, however, to attend to the matter, while they were obliged to wait the result, as it was said the presence of the missionaries on the street would render a dispersion of the mob impossible. When at length, after two hours of torturing suspense they were allowed to return, the place was in complete ruin, and the remaining missionaries, who had barely escaped with their lives, were in hiding. Although the rioters had made a clean sweep of many of the doors, walls, and partitions, yet the resolute but almost exhausted band of missionaries returned to their premises with the cognizance of the officials, only to have the riot renewed the next day and many of their dismal experiences duplicated. There was the same well-nigh hopeless appeal to the prefect, and the same interminable delay in seeing that official, who had not yet risen and did not wish to be disturbed. At last he sent the district magistrate to the scene of violence, dis-

persed the mob, and the lives of the foreigners were once more with difficulty saved.

Mr. Taylor was told to write a mild letter to the prefect, but he must not call the proceedings a "riot," but only a "disturbance," and must ask to have those arrested punished, and proclamations issued. Although it was quite certain that the Taotai and the prefect had themselves arranged to have the riot take place, there was no help for it, and the letter was written. Meantime a verbal message had been sent to the Consulate in Chinkiang, and later a note. The Consul came at once to the rescue, with others accompanying, and the Consul at Shanghai, Mr. Medhurst, took up the matter with great vigour. With a small steamer and a guard of seventy marines from H. M. S. Rinaldo, he went to Yang Chou, stationed guards at the doors of the terrified prefect's yamen, and demanded an interview. The latter endeavoured to minimize the gravity of the riot, but was met point by point by the Consul until he was completely silenced. He was then given an ultimatum requiring that the leaders of the riot, whose names were given, should be punished, that the premises should be repaired, that a proclamation declaring the rights of British missionaries should be issued, that compensation for losses should be made, and that any natives imprisoned on account of the missionaries be set free. To some of these demands the prefect acceded, but as to others he said that he must consult with the Governor-General, Tseng Kuo Fan, at Nanking. With characteristic energy, Mr. Medhurst decided to take the prefect to the Governor-General himself, and thus cut short the endless evasions, the prefect stipulating that he should go in his own boat and not as a prisoner. On the way the prefect asked to be allowed to spend the night on the opposite side of the river from

the Consul, giving his written promise to be there in the morning. He then made his escape in the night, leaving his boat, probably in order to see the Governor-General before Mr. Medhurst arrived, to give his own version of the case. Mr. Medhurst reached Nanking in due time, and had an interview with the Governor-General, who was very gracious, and there seemed fair promise of his acting equitably.

But at this juncture occurred one of those *contretemps*, which are so disastrous in Oriental diplomacy. The Captain of the Rinaldo fell ill and returned to Shanghai, leaving Mr. Medhurst, in the eyes of the Chinese, with no moral support. Tseng at once changed his tone, and definitely refused to give the redress demanded, or to punish the literati, the prefect, or the local magistrate, although the documents showed that they had been repeatedly warned of the impending troubles ten days previous to the outrage. All that could be got was the promise of the restoration of the property, so that, after the lapse of two or three months' time, the missionaries might return, a proclamation being issued forbidding interference with foreigners. The claim for losses was cut down one-half, and the premises were occupied by Mr. Taylor three months after the riot.

The skill and ability of Mr. Medhurst were praised by all who were cognizant of the intricacy and difficulty of the case, yet it has always been understood that his energy was regarded with disfavour by the Foreign Office, this fact being well known to all foreigners in China, and probably also to the Chinese Government. It is worth noting that the Taotai who was so largely responsible for the whole trouble frankly admitted that he had not put the truth of the matter before the Governor-

General, saying that it would be worth his office to do so.

In this typical and test case it is evident to every one, after the lapse of more than a generation, as it was at the time to most persons of discernment, that the British Government should either have never taken up the case at all, or should have carried it through as a precedent of importance for the whole Yangtze valley and for all China. In this and in every similar instance before and since, the Ariadne clue to right results is the simple but far-reaching motto of Lord Elgin: "Make no demands which are not just; never recede from a demand once made." To the fluctuating feeble-forcible policy of foreign Governments much of the open hostility to the treaty rights of foreigners is to be directly attributed.

The Tientsin massacre of June 21, 1870, has remained down to the present time the most wholesale example of Chinese ferocity against foreigners. There was a preceding animosity against the French for using as a consulate one of the popular temples, and the wild reports of the killing of innocent children at the Catholic orphanage seemed to the people unquestionably true, especially as an epidemic prevailed and a considerable number of the children had died. The French consul was extremely injudicious and was arrogant in his tone, and the officials were, as usual, inert until it was too late. Twenty foreigners were killed, and probably as many more Chinese. The same Tseng Kuo Fan whom we have just met in Nanking was now Governor-General in Chihli, but his position here was a most difficult one. The people as a whole entirely sympathized with the rioters, feeling a blind fury against supposed foreign outrages. The Roman Catholic cathedral, built on a site of ground once

set apart for Imperial use, was burned down, and the ruins left standing for twenty-seven years. For a long time the sale of "massacre fans" was carried on, the people evidently enjoying the pictures of the ruin of property and the slaughter of foreigners. The pressure of the Franco-German war immediately following prevented the settlement of the case on such a basis as to make its recurrence improbable. Sixteen Chinese were beheaded and many others were banished, but the effect of the sentence was largely neutralized by the uncertainty whether the right persons had been executed, and by the popular impression that each of their families received a handsome grant from the Chinese Government and officials. For a detailed notice of this and some of the later risings against foreigners in China, those who are interested in the subject would do well to consult the closing chapter of Mr. F. W. Williams's "History of China" (a continuation of the work of his father, Dr. S. W. Williams), in whose judicious opinion of the Tientsin outbreak the well-informed reader will be inclined to concur: "In short, the whole history of the riot—its causes, growth, culmination, results, and repression—combines as many serious obstacles in the way of harmonizing Chinese and European civilizations as anything which ever occurred."

In the year 1874 a serious riot occurred in the French concession at Shanghai, which arose from the determination of the French municipality to take possession of a portion of the property belonging to the club-house of the natives of the adjacent province of Chêkiang. Within these large premises there was a place of deposit for the coffins of those who had died away from home; and while this added greatly to the objectionable nature of the compound, through which it was desired to run a

road, from a Chinese standpoint it made the area as sacred as a cemetery. Even from the foreign point of view, the French were high-handed and unreasonable. It is very instructive to see that the lapse of almost a quarter of a century had done nothing to heal the breach, or to teach the impulsive Gauls a wiser way, for in July, 1898, the same question again arose as to the same property, for which the demand was now more urgent than before. The French municipality, supported by the Consul-General, took steps for entering upon possession of it and adjoining premises for making certain improvements. Opposition was offered by large crowds, and several Chinese were injured.

The next day, the opposition becoming more dangerous, the sailors, police, and volunteers used their weapons, killing fifteen or more Chinese and wounding many others. After some days the matter was adjusted for the time, pending settlement at Peking, and things went on as before. The foreign community in Shanghai and throughout China felt that the lives of nearly all of them had been seriously endangered, and a great wrong done, by the refusal to await the result of negotiations, and the using of brute force involving numerous needless deaths. Is it strange to read in the Ningpo correspondence of the Shanghai journals just two years later (July, 1900) that, owing to the large influx of Chêkiang men just arrived from that city, the anti-foreign feeling was extremely bitter, and to learn that it resulted in the massacre of at least eight China Inland missionaries with their three children, and several Roman Catholic priests and native Christians?

It is a journey of almost a thousand miles from anti-foreign Tientsin to turbulent Canton. For ten years after the Treaty of Tientsin a salutary dread of foreign

power took the place of the popular contempt for all foreigners on the part of the Cantonese. But in July, 1871, placards were everywhere circulated throughout the entire region charging foreigners with the distribution of powders of a supposed wonderful efficacy in healing disease, which were yet a slow poison. The day following the posting of these inflammatory sheets a tempest of alarm and rage spread over the whole city, the violence of which no foreigner had ever seen surpassed. Three-fourths of the people believed these tales, and a panic seized the whole population. "For two weeks there was not a day on which daring and capable leaders might not have gathered a mob for the destruction of every foreign residence and every foreign life."

The execution of some of the leaders by the friendly Governor-General put a stop to the excitement, which spread, however, to Amoy, and even to Fu Chou, and almost extinguished mission work.

Twelve years later, at a time when the Cantonese were aroused by the aggressions of the French in Annam, a drunken foreigner shot a Chinese lad by accident, and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. A Portuguese watchman pushed a Chinese from a steamer, and he was drowned. It was like a spark on guncotton. "With no note of warning, and with the fury of tigers, a mob came pouring into the concession. Men rose from their breakfast-tables or office desks, women caught up their children and possibly some of their jewelry, and fled to the only ship in the harbour. A black cloud of smoke was surging over the settlement, and it grew blacker and wider, till no houses could be seen, but the crash of falling roofs and walls was sounding through the gloom. For three hours the work of burning and plunder continued, till the Viceroy's soldiers scattered the

mob. Four rioters had been killed, thirteen large mercantile establishments had been changed to piles of charred timber and blackened brick."

In the following year the Governor-General, Chang Chih Tung, now in the same office at Wuchang, issued a proclamation, conjointly with Admiral P'eng Yü Lin, aimed indeed at the hostile French, but intentionally so phrased as to bring down the wrath of the populace upon all nationalities and upon the native Christians. Five thousand taels were offered for the French Admiral's head, and less sums according to rank, down to one hundred taels for a common soldier, and half as much for any Chinese giving them assistance. This was immediately interpreted as applying to any foreigner and to any of the native Christians. The news spread like wildfire, and eighteen Protestant chapels were wrecked in as many days. For months all foreigners in Canton lived on the surface of a live volcano. In the same city, ten years later, the prevalence of the dreaded plague caused intense excitement. Two lady physicians were attacked on the street, and but for timely rescue would have been stoned to death.

The great and remote province of Szechuan in western China is inhabited by a peaceable people who are not unfriendly to foreigners, except as they are stirred up to opposition by their officials. A Foreign Bureau at the capital of the province has been shown to be the active agent for the diffusion of anti-foreign virus over this entire region, to the incomputable loss of unnumbered persons. Against Roman Catholics in this province there seems to be a hereditary virulence, the causes of which are not generally understood. It is certain that several priests have lost their lives, and that the poor Christians have suffered the most terrible persecutions for long

periods together. In the summer of 1886 one of these outbreaks took place, apparently due to rumours occasioned by the erection of new mission buildings at Chung Ch'ing, on the Yangtze. The premises of the various missions, as well as the British Consular residence, were looted and destroyed. The Consular Resident was seriously wounded, and more than twenty foreigners were penned up in two small rooms in a yamen during the most trying month of the year for about two weeks, the mob constantly raging without. The rioters openly declared that they had authority from the Emperor and from the officials to extirpate Christianity. The Government compensated the missionaries for their losses, and admitted their treaty rights, but when the buildings were again put up "angry gangs sprang up to burn them, in one place the premises being destroyed three times within four years. An ominous feature in these events was not the violence but the pertinacity of the mobs, which seemed always on hand to execute, whenever occasion demanded, the threats of driving out the Christians." The legal proceedings were a mere travesty of justice, the Christians being urged in open court to apostatize. It was plainly intended to drive out the foreigners altogether by mere attrition, in accordance with the Chinese adage: "The mountains are high—the Emperor is remote."

In the spring of 1895, just after the peace with Japan, rioting in Szechuan again broke out with the suddenness of a tropical thunder-storm, driving from the province more than eighty foreigners. During the progress of these continued persecutions it was reported that more than fifty thousand Christians had suffered in various ways, many having been killed, and the work again completely broken up.

These persistent outbreaks were of so serious a nature

that the foreign Governments concerned were moved to take up the matter in earnest. The American Minister endeavoured to get a Commission appointed to the province to ascertain the measure of complicity of the various officials, especially of the one who was at the time Governor-General, Liu Ping Chang. In a despatch to the State Department, the Minister, Mr. Denby, says that "China fought this Commission for some days, but was finally forced to consent to its going overland to Ch'eng Tu, the provincial capital. China also fought with unparalleled obstinacy the proposition to punish the Viceroy, Liu, partly on account of his influence with the Dowager Empress, and partly because there was no precedent for this action. The entering wedge in overcoming this obstinacy was the action of the Department in ordering the going of an American Commission. After China had accepted this proposition as inevitable, the British Minister stepped in with an ultimatum that the officials should be punished. A fleet was ordered to these waters as a menace. The Minister of France then intervened to explain to China that to avoid trouble she must punish the officials." The late Governor-General was degraded from office, with the addition of the words "never to be employed again," and numerous subordinate mandarins were punished also. The successful accomplishment of the difficult task of securing real justice in this hitherto unexampled way was naturally regarded as a most important step in advance, not only in itself, but especially as a precedent.

There can be no doubt that the primary source of the riots last mentioned in Szechuan, as well as those already referred to in Kuangtung, was connected with the wars with France and with Japan. In the former province one of the numerous placards which appeared was

phrased in the following terms: "At the present time, when Japan has usurped Chinese territory, you English, French, and Americans have looked on with your hands in your sleeves. If in the future you wish to preach your doctrine in China, you must drive the Japanese back to their own country; then you will be allowed to preach your Holy Gospel throughout the country without let or hindrance."

Before dismissing the subject of anti-foreign riots, it is indispensable to take some account of those which occurred in the year 1891 in the Yangtze Valley, which have a unity and a significance of their own. These will be treated in the succeeding chapter. Enough has already been said, however, to make it clear that the previous outbreaks have repeatedly and upon a large scale exhibited every feature of those witnessed in 1900, except one. This is the first time that the riots have been directly instigated from the Imperial Palace itself. Upon the treatment of China now will depend whether it shall also be the last.

VI

AN ANTI-FOREIGN PROPAGANDA AND ITS RESULTS

IT is a classical saying in China that "when the wind grows the grass bends," by which is intended, not the enunciation of a law in the relation between plants and atmospheric changes, but that the people are quickly responsive to the example and the influence of their leaders, and especially of their rulers. This response is made possible by the unparalleled homogeneity of the Chinese people, and the practically illimitable respect which is felt as well as manifested for those who are held to represent and to embody the traditional ideals.

From a variety of causes, the typical Chinese scholar regards all foreign ideals as inferior to those of the Chinese, and the effort to introduce them into China with the same mixture of amusement, contempt, and indignation which we should instinctively feel toward an organized attempt to import into a Christian land the religious system of Mohammed, to the displacement of Christianity. This is his most moderate and temperate view. When he becomes at all excited and intolerant, he views the advent of Western ways and moral teachings precisely as well-educated Westerners would the propagation of Anarchistic tenets and the inculcation of Nihilistic practices among the people of our own land.

About the time of the Tientsin massacre a Chinese pamphlet was widely circulated under the title of "A Death-blow to Corrupt Doctrines," and it was felt to be

full of danger to the welfare of foreigners in China, for the reason that it represented the animus of the cultivated literati towards the men of the West, whom they neither understood nor wished to understand. In spite of earnest efforts in that direction, this book was never suppressed in such a way that it did not reappear at no very infrequent intervals, poisoning the minds of great numbers of Chinese against everything foreign.

At the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai in the spring of 1890, the Rev. Timothy Richard called attention to the recent republication of a collection of documents on Chinese State questions, in 120 books, originally published in 1826, to which a supplement was added of the same number of books in 1888. These were in the catalogue of works for sale in the government bookshops, and consisted of various important memorials which had been presented to high officials, or to the Throne, and also of essays upon topics of public importance, edited with numerous comments and sundry additions, the whole forming a unique and important collection. Mr. Richard styled them the "Blue-books of China," a somewhat inaccurate and misleading term, since it might give rise to the supposition that the papers are official reports, which is not the case. Two books of the supplement are devoted to the subject of Christian missions, an outline of which is given by Mr. Richard in his paper. In these documents are found the origin of all the popular calumnies of Christianity—the tales about scooping out the eyes of converts who had previously been bewitched, the miscellaneous associations of men and women in the churches, the bad character of the French priests, and much which it is impossible to put into print. The account of Christian doctrine was merely a parody, comprising fragments of Brahminism, Bud-

dhism, Mohammedanism, and the teaching of the Secret Sects of China. The practical object of the documents appeared in an appended account of anti-foreign risings in two hostile provinces, where the opposition was organized by an ex-provincial judge and by a Hanlin, who called on the gentry to stamp out the vile doctrines of Christianity from among them.

During the year 1891 attention was publicly called in the foreign press of China to the fact that a great quantity of inflammable anti-foreign literature, evidently prepared by accomplished Chinese scholars, was issuing from the capital of the province of Hunan, and thence being disseminated all over that part of the Empire. In securing copies of these books and pamphlets, translating them, and tracking them to their source, the Rev. Griffith John, D.D., of Hankow, rendered to all foreigners in China a great service. For many years he has been the principal authority upon the subject, and it was to him that we owe the discovery that the chief man under whose acrid pen the poison of asps was being distilled was named Chou Han, a native of Ning Hsiang in Hunan, holding the nominal rank of Taotai.

In a city twenty or thirty miles from Hankow, it was found that copies of a book called " Death to the Devil's Religion " was being circulated in enormous quantities from six of the seven pawnshops of the place, copies being given to anyone who chose to take them away. It was styled a " Virtue-book," such as the Chinese are in the habit of issuing, either free or at a nominal price, with a view to the accumulation of merit. It is impossible to convey in print any adequate conception of the vile nature of this production. It will be quite sufficient to quote the general description of it, and many other Hunan issues, given in a letter of Dr. John's to the " Daily

News," of Shanghai: "In the Hunan publications the worship of Jesus is represented as the worship of licentiousness. Our Lord is represented as a hog crucified, and surrounded by male and female worshippers, some on their knees, and some indulging in licentious merriment. The term *T'ien Chu Chiao,* 'The Religion of the Lord of Heaven,' is generally written in characters which have the same sound, but which mean 'The Squeak of the Celestial Hog;' and the term Ocean Men *(Yang-Jen* —foreigners) is often written with another character of the same sound, meaning 'Goat Men.' Hence the expression 'pig-goat devils' in the document, applied sometimes to foreigners generally, sometimes to missionaries in particular, and sometimes to native Christians. Converts are also called sons and grandsons of the devils and the pig-goat devils—that is, of foreigners."

In connection with this book were brought to light numerous placards widely circulated, one of which was termed "Unification-of-Heart and Risking-Life-Agreement," which was to be entered into by the entire province of Hunan. It consisted of seven articles, the first of which provided that if any member of any clan should prove to have been bewitched by the spies of the goat-devils, he should be compelled to recant publicly at the ancestral temple; should he refuse, he was to be driven away as an outcast, and his name published universally so that no place in the province would be open to him. Another article provided that in case any clan should screen one of the pig-goat devils, and not expel him, the whole clan should be called the pig-goat devil clan, and should be absolutely boycotted in every way. Another article urged rigid examination of all travellers, and if their replies to searching questions should be evasive or unsatisfactory, all were to unite and drive them out. One

of the later sections declared that, in case of a pig-goat devil invasion of Hunan, there should be a voluntary enrollment of militia, the larger prefectures furnishing 20,000 men, the medium-sized 15,000, and the smaller 10,000. "We will unitedly subscribe the troops, and the cost of the weapons of war; and we ask the authorities to distribute the troops and at once proceed to fight the foreigners." It is a remarkable fact that the closing specification agreed that the burning of churches and chapels should not be allowed, partly because it might lead to the destruction of adjoining native houses, and secondarily because the property ought to be handed over to the authorities to be sold for the benefit of the revenue.

In connection with these books, placards, and other manifestoes, was circulated what was called a "Picture Gallery" in which all the vilest charges against foreigners and against the Christian religion were pictorially represented in the best style of Chinese art for wide circulation. This extraordinary production of Confucian culture was reproduced by foreigners, with a view to its circulation privately among those who need to know the real feeling of such men as the authors of the Hunan literature. The publishers inserted the following note explanatory of their purpose: "This reproduction of the Picture Gallery being intended for the thoughtful few, and not at all for the multitude, no attempt has been made to gloss over its extreme grossness in picture and language. It is not the product of illiterate men. The Hunan anti-Christian publications, almost without an exception, have scholars for their authors, and there can be no doubt about this one. This being the case, it has been deemed best to reproduce the Gallery just as it stands, in all its obscenity and vileness. In no other way would it be possible to convey a right idea of the un-

reasoning and blasphemous nature of the Chinese attack upon Christianity, of the low mental and moral condition of the Chinese literati, and of the deep need of all classes in China of the very faith which not a few of them are seeking to destroy."

Such were the seeds sown broadcast over mid-China in the early part of 1891, and it was not long ere they produced fruit after their kind. Early in May, owing to the diligent dissemination of reports of the ill-treatment of children at the orphanage of the Roman Catholics (one of whom was alleged to have been boiled in a bath!), an attack upon the premises of the Jesuit mission at Yang Chou was planned, but the would-be rioters were suppressed by the authorities by the aid of a large contingent of soldiers. At Wu Hu, a port on the Yangtze, on the 10th of the month, an outbreak occurred of the same sort. The graves of some Chinese who had been buried in the compound were dug open, and the bodies—too much decomposed to be recognized—were held up as proof of foul play. At this sight the mob became furious, oil was brought and thrown over everything, and the place was soon a smoking ruin. The British Consulate and the Imperial Customs establishment were also attacked, but were defended by Customs volunteers until the arrival of Chinese gunboats. At Nanking, one of the principal cities on the Yangtze, the mission premises and the hospital were attacked by a mob, and nothing but the courage of one of the missionaries in holding them at bay until soldiers arrived prevented another scene of wreck. There was a similar narrow escape at An Ching Fu (Ngankin) the timely arrival of a French and later of a German gunboat affording protection. At Tan Yang on the 1st of June there was a systematic assault upon the Roman Catholic premises, every

BRITISH GUARD OF CUSTOMS VOLUNTEERS

building of which was either burned to the ground or demolished, but without loss of life. Four days later a still more violent and unexpected attack was made at Wu Hsüeh, a city twenty-five miles above Chiu Chiang, on the Yangtze. Here the usual allegations of kidnapping babies, which seldom fail to infuriate a Chinese mob, were concocted, and a newly arrived Wesleyan missionary, Mr. Argent, and a customs officer named Green were murdered, and their bodies mutilated in the most barbarous manner. At Wu Hsieh, an important town on the Grand Canal, an outbreak like the preceding occurred on the 8th of June, apparently under the leadership of Hunan men; the Roman Catholic premises were methodically set on fire with oil and gunpowder brought for the purpose. At Chiu Chiang, about the same time, the wreck of the property which it was intended to destroy was prevented by the landing of men from three gunboats, and by the arrival of the Taotai with a large body of troops.

The last and in some respects the most singular of all the many riots of this year occurred at I Ch'ang Fu, about three hundred and sixty-five miles above Hankow, on the Yangtze. The pretext for gathering a crowd was a cunning contrivance—to wit, that of bringing a child to the Roman Catholic convent, to which an orphanage for girls was attached. The proper papers were all drawn up and signed, but the child was subsequently ascertained to be a boy. The following day a demand was made for the "kidnapped" child, who was surrendered, and the circumstance reported to the magistrate. A military official was sent to the convent as if to protect it, followed by a crowd. The subsequent proceedings differ from those of any other riot which ever occurred in China. Some mission buildings were destroyed, others were left intact. The native-owned house in which some of the

Scotch missionaries lived was set on fire, but the house of another Scotch missionary was to have been looted but not burned, because he was a ten years' resident and engaged in works of charity! But the ringleaders carried with them kerosene and gunpowder and destroyed it with the rest, while a native building, foreign-owned, used as the British Consulate, was spared, but the new Consulate in course of building was thoroughly wrecked. The whole attack came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, taking the most wary by surprise, and was carried out with a thoroughness and despatch without precedent. Until the alarm was given there was no indication of danger, and in twenty minutes all was over. The whole thing was done with a quickness and a precision which showed that all had been carefully planned and that each man knew exactly what to do and did it. The whole number of riotors was not more than fifty, and there was no doubt that it was engineered by soldiers who knew what their officers approved.

In the month of August a savage attack was made upon Dr. Greig, a missionary physician, while engaged in his work in the country, near Kirin, the capital of Manchuria, by the body-guard of the Tartar General. He was charged with child-stealing, and was kept in imprisonment for three days, experiencing the harshest treatment.

Some months later a great insurrection in large regions of Manchuria attacked the Roman Catholic Christians and made havoc of mission property, massacring many hundred Christians, until the rising attained to the dignity of a rebellion. It was extinguished only at vast cost of life, twenty thousand insurgents being reported as killed, and the local magistrates were punished for not having contradicted the rumours against the Christians,

which had been officially circulated all over China. In 1893, at Sungpu, a town sixty miles from Hankow, two Swedish missionaries were mobbed under circumstances of special atrocity. The subsequent proceedings, while apparently intended to make a show of stern justice, were disappointing to foreigners, and exasperating to the Chinese, who were alarmed at the severity of the punishment, boycotted the Europeans, and placards were issued enjoining abstention from any intercourse with them in any way, upon pain of destruction for those who offended. In the following year the Rev. J. A. Wylie was killed at Lao Yang, Manchuria, by Manchu soldiers who appeared to be acting under the immediate protection of their superiors, many of whom had proved very hostile to the advent of Westerners within the Manchu "sphere of influence," a phenomenon which has repeatedly been observed in many different parts of the Empire.

During the summer of 1895 the whole world was startled by news of the most terrible tragedy in the history of Protestant missions in China, at Ku Chêng in the Fukien province, when the Rev. Mr. Stewart, his wife and family, and several associates were furiously attacked by members of the Vegetarian Society, and ten of them killed. Local troubles had become so serious that it became necessary to summon troops to put them down, and it was supposed that the missionary was instrumental in bringing about this result.

These occurrences resulted in numerous public meetings in different parts of the Far East, and in long-continued discussion of the nature and significance of the anti-foreign outbreaks; but as the British Government did not hold the provincial officials to a strict responsibility, very little permanent impression was made upon the Chinese mind by the punishment of a small number of

uninfluential individuals. In June, 1899, a similar outburst took place at Chien Ning Fu, in Fukien, on the usual pretext, and with the usual result of the general destruction of mission property and the narrow escape of the missionaries with their lives.

During the same year the province of Szechuan, of which we have previously had so much to say as a hotbed of anti-foreign energy, was once more in an anarchic condition. A Roman Catholic father named Fleury was captured by the followers of a bully calling himself Yü Man Tzu, and held as a prisoner for many months. At many different places in the province the mission premises were torn down and the foreigners compelled to fly for their lives. In the city of Chiang Pei, across the river from the open port of Chung Ch'ing, a new dispensary was opened, when the place was suddenly raided and one of the students was killed. In the adjoining province of Kueichou Mr. Fleming, of the China Inland Mission, was killed on the highway, together with his colporteur, and the greatest difficulties were thrown in the way of punishing the guilty persons, who were well known.

Our review of the anti-foreign outbreaks during even the last ten years in China is very far from complete, but those which have been noted are typical of the whole. They began with the acquaintance of the Chinese with the Westerner, and they have extended as the area of that acquaintance was widened. They embrace every one of the eighteen provinces as well as Manchuria. There even appears to be a species of periodicity about them, resembling the meteoric showers in November. In an editorial in the "Daily News," of Shanghai, in May, 1900, it was stated that the "riot season" had now arrived, and that preparations ought to be made accordingly, for that out of thirty-four "first-class riots" since 1842, only four

had occurred in the months from November to February, and none at all in March. May and June are the height of the season, just one-half of the whole number having taken place in those months. June has eleven out of thirty-four, nine of which occurred in 1891.

It would seem to be evident from the phenomena already described that the causes of the hostility to foreigners in China are deep-seated and universal. The outbreaks are directed with considerable impartiality against whatever foreigners happen to be within reach, and, as a rule, originate in some impulse imparted by the educated, and especially by the official, classes of China. One of the principal roots from which they spring is ignorance, dense and impenetrable. In the process of gradually enlightening that ignorance, innumerable prejudices are encountered, and not infrequently explosive gases are generated, which, upon ignition by some chance spark, produce a terrible catastrophe. At the present crisis the fatuity of the rulers of China has thrown into Western hands the opportunity, and placed upon Western nations the responsibility of providing that there shall be no more such tempestuous outbursts of blind passion and unreasoning rage as have disgraced the greater part of the last half-century. If the Western Powers use aright this opportunity, if they fulfill their duty and meet their responsibility, it is not too much to hope that within a measurable period anti-foreign riots such as we have been considering will be unknown, and that the opening of a new century may be at the same time for the Chinese Empire the beginning of a new era.

VII

THE COMMERCIAL INTRUSION

IT is usual to distribute the foreigners in China into the general classes of Merchants, Officials, and Missionaries. To these within recent years has been added a fourth, called Promoters, meaning those who are the agents of "syndicates" or the other organizations for exploiting the Empire by means of foreign capital. On account of the necessary relations between their aims and methods, it may be convenient to consider the first and the last class together. One of the most comprehensive treatments of the general subject under discussion was in a series of papers by the Rev. Gilbert Reid, later known as the pioneer in work for "the higher classes" in China, which was published, with the title, "The Sources of the Anti-Foreign Disturbances in China," in Shanghai in 1893, much of which is as much in point now as when it was written.

Of all the foreigners in China, the merchant is the one least likely to excite hostility on the part of the Chinese. He comes expressly and only to trade, and the Chinese are by instinct and by practice traders "heaven-endowed." If there were no one to sell foreign goods to the Chinese, of whom could the Chinese buy? And after some hundreds of years of commercial intercourse the practical Chinese needs no argument to convince him that there are many articles produced abroad which, if not a necessity, are at least highly desirable. In regions where foreign trade is familiar to the people, there is probably very

little animosity on the part of the Chinese toward those who are its agents. Many of them speak the Chinese language either imperfectly or not at all, so that their communication with the natives is mainly or solely through the well-known "comprador," whose functions vary all the way from those of an intermediary merchant to those of a simple house steward. These indispensable buffers in Chinese commercial relations have their decided advantages, diminishing or at least distributing friction, and smoothing over a great variety of occasions of possible collision between the foreigner and Chinese, of many of which the foreigner himself is not improbably quite unaware.

The Chinese have exerted their phenomenal talents for business without being in the least aware that the processes are under the control of inexorable natural laws, and without a dawning comprehension of the truths of political economy. The views entertained in Western lands in regard to what constitutes "progress" are radically different from anything to be found in China, where nobody knows or cares anything about "progress." Even in the Occident the triumphal march of invention and economy is strewn with the wrecks of fortunes and of lives which have been blighted or extinguished by "improvements," by new "labour-saving inventions," and the like. But in Western countries it is possible for one whose business has been ruined by an improvement, or an alteration in fashion, to take up something else which in time will do just as well; or, if he fails in this, "the heaven is high and the earth is wide," and there is still abundant opportunity for successful emigration in many different directions.

In China all is far otherwise. The artificer is able to do one thing only, and that, it may be, in a hereditary

craft, for any other than which he is as little fitted as a fish for air-breathing. Matches from foreign lands, kerosene oil, with the lamps of diversified varieties, have displaced Chinese industries on a great scale, with social consequences which it is impossible to follow in detail. One reads in the reports to the directors of steamship companies of the improved trade with China in cotton goods, and the bright outlook all along the coast from Canton to Tientsin and Newchwang in this line of commerce, but no one reads of the effect of this trade of expansion upon innumerable millions of Chinese on the great cotton-growing plains of China. These have hitherto been just able to make a scanty living by weaving cloth fifteen inches wide, one bolt of which requires two days of hard work, realizing at the market only enough to enable the family to purchase the barest necessities of life, and to provide more cotton for the unintermittent weaving, which sometimes goes on by relays all day and most of the night. But now, through the "bright outlook" for foreign cotton goods, there is no market for the native product, as there has always been hitherto. The factors for the wholesale dealers no longer make their appearance as they have always done from time immemorial, and there is no profit in the laborious work of weaving, and no productive industry which can take its place. In some villages every family has one or more looms, and much of the work is done in underground cellars where the click of the shuttle is heard month in and month out from the middle of the first moon till the closing days of the twelfth. But now the looms are idle and the weaving-cellars are falling into ruins.

Multitudes who own no loom are able to spin cotton thread, and thus earn a bare support,—a most important auxiliary protection against the wolf always near to the

Chinese door. But lately the phenomenal activity of the mills in Bombay, in Japan, and even in Shanghai itself, has inundated the cotton districts of China with yarns so much more even, stronger, and withal cheaper than the home-made kind, that the spinning-wheels no longer revolve, and the tiny rill of income for the young, the old, the feeble, and the helpless is permanently dried up. Many of the innumerable sufferers from this steady advance of "civilization" into the interior of China have no more appreciation of the causes of their calamity than have the Japanese peasants who find themselves engulfed by a tidal wave caused by an earthquake or by the sudden or gradual subsidence of the coast. Yet there are many others who know perfectly well that before foreign trade came in to disturb the ancient order of things, there was in ordinary years enough to eat and to wear, whereas now there is a scarcity in every direction, with a prospect of worse to come. With an experience like this, in many different lines of activity, the Chinese are not to be blamed for feeling a profound dissatisfaction with the new order of things.

It is out of the question for any candid examination of the sources of Chinese discontent with foreign trade to pass lightly over the sale of opium. There has been so much intemperate writing upon both sides of a grave and difficult question that it is hard even to mention it without incurring reproach from the one side or the other. For our present purposes a few lines are quite sufficient. Foreigners did not, indeed, introduce opium into China, but they enormously expanded its sale, and compelled its legalization against the wishes of the Chinese, who would in any case have used a certain amount of it, but nothing like the quantity to which they thus became rapidly accustomed. Some Chinese efforts to prohibit the growth

and the use of this drug have been sincere, and others not so. The native article is gradually but surely supplanting the imported one, but the use of opium in China is indissolubly linked with the foreigner, even in its name ("foreign earth"). While the Chinese have become almost a nation of opium-smokers, the national conscience still exists, and vigourously protests against the habit which it is powerless to stop.

Whoever examines the elaborate Report of the Opium Commission appointed by the British Government, together with the criticisms and comments upon the trade evoked thereby, cannot fail to perceive that there is a studied unwillingness on the part of many defenders of the trade to weigh the evidence, instead of prejudging it. The present Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, dismisses the whole subject in a few words, contemptuously denying that the Chinese cherish any hostility to foreigners on account of opium, any more than Englishmen hate France because the French make better brandy than their neighbours. It is easy to show, on the contrary, that many of the most thoughtful Chinese in the Empire connect the decay of China and the general use of opium as cause and effect. The following pointed statement upon the subject is taken from the paper written by the Taotai of Soochow, who is in charge of the salt gabelle in that city: "From ancient times to the present day there has never been such a stream of evil and misery as has come down upon China in her receiving the curse of opium. . . . From the time that opium was first introduced into China until now, a period of over one hundred years, the number of deaths caused by it must mount up into the millions. Now, in China there are many among the upper classes who seem to be in ignorance concerning the true state of affairs, and are not willing to blame the Chinese for

their fault in using opium, but ascribe the real cause of the trouble to the avariciousness of foreigners, and thus look upon them with hatred. Also, the ignorant masses having even intenser antipathy towards them, we continually see on every hand anti-missionary outbreaks and riots."

This passage is sufficiently explicit as to the Chinese hostility to the instruments of the national ruin. That the most intelligent men in China hold the strongest opinion as to the injury done by opium is easily proved, as, for instance, by the widely circulated and popular work of the celebrated Governor-General of the two Hukuang provinces, Chang Chih Tung, lately translated for English readers under the title "China's Only Hope." In this there is a chapter headed "Cast Out the Poison," from which the following paragraph is an extract: "Assuredly it is not foreign intercourse that is ruining China, but this dreadful poison. Oh, the grief and desolation it has wrought to our people! A hundred years ago the curse came upon us more blasting and deadly in its effects than the great Flood, or the scourge of the Fierce Beasts, for the waters assuaged after nine years, and the ravages of the man-eaters were confined to one place. Opium has spread with frightful rapidity and heartrending results through the provinces. Millions upon millions have been struck down by the plague. To-day it is running like wildfire. In its swift, deadly course it is spreading devastation everywhere, wrecking the minds and eating away the strength and wealth of its victims. The ruin of the mind is the most woeful of its many deleterious effects. The poison enfeebles the will, saps the strength of the body, renders the consumer incapable of performing his regular duties, and unfit for travel from one place to another. It consumes his substance and reduces the

miserable wretch to poverty, barrenness, and senility. Unless something is soon done to arrest this awful scourge in its devastating march, the Chinese people will be transformed into satyrs and devils. This is the present condition of our country."

When the most respected and most influential Chinese in the Empire addresses to his own countrymen words like these, it is evident that there is behind them a profound conviction. While his Excellency is at great pains to show that the Chinese are themselves to blame for the ruin wrought by opium, it is certain that most Chinese connect the misery, degradation, and wreck wrought by this baleful drug directly with the Western lands through whose agency it became universally known, and that this fact has had an important influence in creating and, from the Chinese point of view, justifying hostility to foreigners. While no riot can be said to have had its origin solely through the use of opium, it is doubtful if there has ever been any outbreak in China against the men from beyond the sea which was not either started or promoted by opium-smokers at their places of resort, where the worst characters in every Chinese city, market town, and village are invariably attracted.

The principal Western innovations which foreigners are interested in having introduced into China are steam navigation, telegraphs, railways and tramways, and scientific mining. What effect each of these adjuncts of modern civilization has had in the Chinese Empire up to the present time is an inquiry to which it may not be easy to give an adequate reply; nor is it necessary, since the essential question is not the actual results from the point of view of the student of political economy, but the light in which the matter is regarded by the people of China themselves. Steam navigation has been known

for so long that it might be supposed to have become an integral part of Chinese social, mercantile, and economic life, as indeed it has. But wherever it has led to the discontinuance of the use of junks, as on the great Yangtze River, or along the whole of the Grand Canal from central China to Tientsin, it has developed an antagonism which is not the less real because it ordinarily finds no vent for expression. The remnant of the tribute rice fleet of junks, still make the slow, costly, wasteful, and useless journey to Peking from mid-China through the shallow channel of the Grand Canal. The tenacity with which this dying practice is cherished by the officials interested in the smuggling which it may be said to consist in and to exist for, indicates the bitter animosity with which hundreds of mandarins, thousands of their followers, and tens of thousands of boatmen (all of whom are direct sharers in the rich spoils of every trip) regard the steamships which execute the carrying functions on a thousandfold greater scale, in a minute fraction of the time, and at a nominal cost, with no damage to the Imperial revenue.

The concessions granted, within the past few years, of the right to navigate the inland waters of China have awakened the most violent opposition, in many instances altogether neutralizing the anticipated benefits. Steam navigation on the upper Yangtze which has recently been begun after so long a period of struggle and against the most inveterate antagonism and accumulated obstacles, represents in itself the whole economic battle which the Empire is waging against the progress which is slowly being forced upon it. The ultimate benefits are assured, the triumph of steam everywhere may be held to be certain, but the people as a whole do not want it, most of them hate the sight of its appliances, and when the op-

portunity arrives they exhibit their hostility in unmistakable ways. Against this tremendous current of antagonism the enlightened minority would never make any headway but for the support of the Government. When that support is withdrawn, vested interests and the democratic instincts of "the people" (always a powerful factor in all Chinese questions) show by acts of destruction in which direction their sympathies lie.

Telegraphs have always been associated by the Chinese with the Government, but their introduction was looked upon with suspicion, and has been regarded as a distinct grievance by the officials thus brought into immediate connection with and under the control of the central power at Peking. They have been felt, too, as a vague peril to the peace of the land by the ignorant peasants, to whom the rusty rain-water dripping from the deoxidized wires is the exudation of supernatural blood, perhaps that of outraged "spirits of the air," boding ill to all near to whom it falls. It is not many years ago that the entire province of Hunan was reported to be a unit against the introduction of the accursed innovation within its bounds, the wires being cut and the poles sawed down or pulled up as often as they were erected. During the recent Boxer uprising the telegraph offices were among the first places attacked, and destroyed, and this from a general instinct that they are hostile to China as it was and as it ought forever to remain.

Far more serious, however, is the introduction of railways, which within the past few years have been planned for, agreed upon, and in some cases actually begun, to go all over and through the interior of the Empire. From one point of view, "Fengshui," or Chinese geomancy, may be said to be a decadent superstition, but for practical purposes it still holds on its serene way, undisturbed

DRAGON WALL, REGARDED BY CHINESE AS PROTECTING THE CITY AGAINST EVIL SPIRITS

by the march of civilization or the pretensions of science. It is too weak of itself to block the progress of a railway, but it is strong enough to develop latent animosity into overt hostility when occasion arises. As in the case of steam navigation, wisdom and prudence would avoid most of the actual perils and would surmount the rest; but the potential conflict may at any moment become real. The belief, age-long and world-wide, that when any particularly difficult task is to be achieved it can be accomplished only by the sacrifice of human life, was exhibited anew in 1897 when the railway from Tientsin to Peking was about to be completed. When the Shanghai Cathedral was erected, the peasants and coolies throughout that part of China firmly believed that its foundations were laid on the bodies of Chinese infants to insure stability to the structure. When the Peking railway was built, it was in like manner supposed that not merely the piers of the bridge over the Pei Ho at Yang Ts'un, but all the sleepers throughout the whole eighty miles, were secured in the same manner. The excitement, which for a time was high, seemed wholly to die away, but no one is able to say what influence such superstitions have upon the subsequent actions of the "stupid people," who are able to bear grievous wrongs in comparative silence, but who suddenly flame out in a fury of vengeance when the matter is supposed to have been forgotten. At the introduction of every Chinese railway there is a fatal fascination about the rails, which are about the height of a Chinese pillow—often a mere support for the back of the neck only—so that in the dim light of the night the engineer may see before his swift-speeding engine a long row of brown forms, each stretched across the track with his head beyond the rails. On such occasions it has sometimes been necessary to run trains at "dead slow"

for miles together. In the early days of the line to the Tangshan coal-mines there was a sort of market rate of thirty taels for Chinese killed by accident, but it was alleged that too many Chinese seemed disposed to "get a living" in this way, and a modification of the rules went into effect.

The boatmen in any Chinese port are a large class, and while they might appear to be an uninfluential one, their united remonstrances often have great weight, for no Chinese official wishes to have a popular uprising to deal with, the ultimate consequences of which no one can foresee, and which may be in many ways serious to himself. It has not yet passed out of recollection how, not many years since Li Hung Chang, then Governor-General of Chili, was moved by the uproarious clamour of the Ningpo junk-masters to cancel the plans for a railway bridge at Tientsin, the piles for which had already been driven and which had to be laboriously pulled up again—a humiliation for the most arbitrary Chinese in China, and a triumph for the vested interests even of sailors. Some years later, when the Yang Ts'un bridge was built, the railway movement had acquired much greater impetus, and no account whatever was taken of the numerous large and clumsy official house-boats which could not pass under it. Many of these vessels were quietly anchored at Tung Chou when the bridge was laid across the piers, and had to be razeed at considerable expense, while their usefulness was destroyed. The innumerable house-boats plying on the Pei Ho thrown out of activity by the Peking railway, the countless two-mule carts plying between Tientsin and Peking, and the whole population of Tung Chou, a city which bitterly fought the railway and was then ruined by its opening elsewhere, all furnished swarms of deadly

foes to the concrete introduction of the ways of the West into the ways of the soporific East, just sufficiently awake to resent the intrusion.

Among the numerous reform measures proposed in the brief progressive period of 1898 was such a rearrangement of the methods of carrying the tribute rice to Peking as to prevent having a large part of it stolen *en route*. This threatened to reduce the city of Tung Chou (which has owed its existence almost solely to this nourishing stream) to actual starvation, and as a fact the first blow at Fengtai was struck by a large delegation from the city, who, in company with others, wrecked the machine-shops, dismantled the engines, tore up the rails, and otherwise registered a practical protest against the new and inconvenient régime. It may be remarked in passing that one of the arguments employed in a memorial to the Emperor advocating railways many years since was that in the carrying of tribute rice they "would put an end to stealing by the crew." This is not unlikely, but experience shows that there is next to nothing about a Chinese railway which first or last is not liable to be carried off, even the semaphores disappearing after they have been up for perhaps twenty-four hours, thus reminding the Chinese that practical morality is by no means a matter of appliances.

There is an additional cause for popular hostility to railways upon which insufficient stress is generally laid. Many of the foreigners employed in the actual work speak no Chinese, and it is unquestionable that multitudes of the workmen have been shamefully maltreated during its progress. This is said to have been the case with the Belgian management of the Lu—Han road, and in a marked degree with the German work in Shantung, and perhaps still more so with that of the Russians in Manchuria.

The aggregate of all these hostile feelings is a formidable total, and when it is discharged in one avalanche the effect may well be to attract the attention of the world.

Chang Chih Tung, like other Chinese, considers that "ceremony" is almost non-existent among Westerners—and no wonder. The typical "promoter" is a busy man of the world, who does not by any means come all the way to China "for his health." What he wants, he wants, and he wants it now. With his hat cocked upon one side, his cigar in his mouth, his hands in the pockets of his "monkey-jacket," he strides into a yamen and tells "the old fossil" what he—the promoter—just come to town, wants and must have. He will listen to no nonsense, will take no excuses, has no time to waste, perhaps issues his ultimatum and is off. He is engaged in the airy task of what Mr. Kipling calls "trying to hustle the East," and not improbably with the usual results. To the staid old conservative official, no matter how well disposed he may be, such a representative of the West seems a wild and untamable barbarian, the like of which he never saw before and never desires to behold again. Popular feeling cares nothing what the Government has or has not conceded. Like the Western promoter, it wants what it wants; and it does *not* want him. In one of the interior regions, when the Boxer rising became dangerous, a certain missionary had a narrow escape for his life, until he was able to prove that he was not the man who was going about stirring up the earth-dragon and spoiling the divine influences of the land with his threatened iron road for the fire-wheel carts.

The discerning reader will perceive that the Chinese has much to say for himself when he unconsciously utters the plaint which means, if it does not claim, "China for the Chinese." In the stealthy and mysterious progress

of the Promoter of Enterprises he rightly discerns a political agent; for every railway means bonds, and bonds mean money, and money is the life of the land, and the more of it sent away the more anæmic the Empire will be. To him all silver which comes into the country is so much clear gain, and all silver which is taken out of it means so much dead loss. The idea of a real reciprocity, in which what is advantageous to one party may be in a different way not less so to another, is entirely alien to Chinese thought.

To foreign mining of all sorts the antipathy is intense and apparently invincible. Every one of the inevitable accidents intensifies it, and there is scarcely one of these promising "openings" which may not at any moment become a grave for the man who digs it. Uneasy lies the head which plans a mine.

And with these views, held with every degree of distortion and rehearsed in the hearing of every Chinese day by day with varied iteration, it is not singular that we have a well-laid train which may at any moment produce an explosion of a magnitude hitherto unexampled. Taking all the complex factors into account, the wonder rather is that the explosion has not come long ago.

VIII

TERRITORIAL AGGRESSION

THE close of the war with Japan marked one of the critical points in the age-long history of the Chinese Empire. At the conclusion of that brief but decisive struggle the Chinese found themselves forced to accept humiliating terms, the very idea of which probably never entered into the minds of those who a few months before, ignorant and unprepared, embarked upon the hopelessly unequal contest. Had Japan been unhampered by pressure from other Powers, she would undoubtedly have demanded a large money indemnity, and, for a time at least, would have occupied the territory that she had conquered by force of arms, which is known by the general name of Manchuria. (This embraces in its widest meaning the whole country from the Great Wall, has its terminus at Shan Hai Kuan, and stretches north to the Amur River. Its southern province goes by the name of Shengching [or Shingking], and is the hereditary seat of the Manchus who founded the dynasty at present ruling China.) Had the Japanese been allowed to occupy this group of provinces, they would have become the masters of the Chinese Empire. It was keenly felt, however, by the Chinese that the Emperor's prerogative did not include the giving away of land obtained by his ancestors at the cost of so much bloodshed.

They have always greatly honoured the name of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, under whom the domains of the

EMPEROR KUANG HSÜ AND BROTHER

Empire were extended to their widest limits, and any curtailing of this heritage was regarded as a national disgrace. It is quite true that millions of the people never knew at the time, and probably do not now know, that there was any war at all with Japan; but the very peasants of whom this can be affirmed are yet highly inflammable when wrought upon by agencies adapted to stir their sluggish blood, as they have been for now more than half a decade. The Chinese have for forty years been expert in playing off one Western Power against another, and in thus contriving in turn to baffle them all. On the other hand, since all Western lands were interested in China—although by no means to the same degree—it has been a not unnatural expectation that whenever the welfare of China relatively to the world was threatened by one Power, the rest, or at least some one of them, would intervene and prevent a serious injury to the common interests of all. In the case under consideration, it will be remembered that the Russo-French Alliance, backed by Germany, warned Japan that the natural result of her deserved success could not be allowed, and that her troops must be withdrawn from Manchuria. Until the indemnity agreed upon should be paid, however, she was to occupy the harbour and fort of Weihaiwei, about fifty miles east of Chefoo, near the eastern end of the Shantung Promontory, a position which she had wrested from China toward the close of the war, under circumstances peculiarly humiliating and disgraceful to China. Besides this, Japan was to have the island of Formosa, a prize toward which many hungry eyes had been looking for a long time.

Under this pressure, it was useless for Japan to insist on what she felt to be her rights. There was no Power to which she could turn for help except Great Britain, and,

for reasons known perhaps to the directors of her so-called "foreign policy," Great Britain elected to remain entirely neutral. It is vain to consider the might-have-beens of this critical time, but it is plain that, had the course of Great Britain been different, the whole trend of events in the Far East might have been altered.

In due time an understanding between Russia and China was arrived at, by which the price to be paid for keeping Manchuria out of the clutches of Japan was fixed upon. It was a secret agreement, but in China nothing is too securely locked up to be inaccessible to him who holds a silver key. Its terms were published to the world through the London "Times" and the "North China Daily News," of Shanghai, and each journal was ridiculed for its credulity in accepting the "Cassini Convention" as a bona-fide document. When its substantial authenticity was definitely established, it became evident that Russia had very naturally and very cleverly played the part of the lawyer in Lord Brougham's familiar definition of that useful functionary, as "a man who rescues your estate from your adversary and keeps it himself." The great Russian trans-Siberian railway, one of the most important enterprises in a century full of audacious undertakings, had long been in process of construction, pointing toward the new Russian port of Vladivostok, at the mouth of the Amur River. In spite of all that could be done for the amelioration of the natural conditions, this ice-bound harbour was far from being a suitable terminus for the all-rail line to Europe and the West. In consequence, and as a part of the new arrangement with China, Russia was entitled to build her line directly through Manchuria, aiming at the port of Talienwan, at the southern extremity of the peninsula in which Shengching terminates. For the protection of the road,

Russia was authorized to introduce her own troops; and although at the expiration of a certain period the road might be taken over by China, no one was deceived into the faintest expectation that it would not turn out that by this adroit act Manchuria was completely mortgaged to the great Empire of the North.

The result of the agreement between Russia and China was presently to fill Manchuria with such numbers of Russians, especially soldiers, that to the eye of the observant traveller it appeared to be already under the distinct protection or semi-government of Russia; and, according to all reports which reached the outside world, the Russian occupation was accompanied with incidents which would have roused into active hostility any people in Europe. The Chinese have a great respect for their rulers, and recognize the impropriety and folly of endeavouring to modify, much less reverse, the acts of those who hold the symbols of authority. But they also know and feel that China is not and for many years has not been a free agent in her governmental acts. When they beheld such an alienation of soil as the virtual transfer of the whole northern portion of China to her most dreaded neighbour, it was with the profound conviction that such a result could have been brought about only by the exercise of a force which, so far as China was concerned, was irresistible. The indignation inevitably begotten was for the time smothered or disguised, but it was inextinguishable, which is only to say that the Chinese are not so destitute of national spirit as to be indifferent to the fate of the Empire.

On the first of November, 1897, occurred an event the consequences of which no prophet would have been able to foresee. Two German Catholic priests living at a village twenty-five miles west of Chi Ning Chou, in western

Shantung, were suddenly and without warning set upon by a band of over twenty men, both of the priests being killed almost at once, one of them receiving nine wounds from swords, the other thirteen. No one else in the compound received any injury. Many theories were advanced to account for the act, such as that it was committed by banditti, who abound in that part of Shantung, that it was done in revenge for a failure to secure employment, or for help given to certain Catholic converts who had a lawsuit, or that it was instigated by the Ta Tao Hui, or "Great Sword Society," between which and the Catholics there had even at that time been a bitter feud of some years' standing. Whatever the occasion for this outrage may have been, it was certainly not in any way due to official connivance, as the local magistrate happened to be well acquainted with one of the priests, and was much affected at the terrible sight, when he arrived in his capacity of coroner to make an official inspection.

Within two weeks of the time that these events occurred, German ships of war made their appearance at Kiaochou (or Chiaochou) Bay, and took possession of the island of Ch'ing Tao (or Tsingtao), the Chinese officials yielding the place without a struggle. Not long after, the German Legation was reported to have formulated its demands for the settlement of the murder case under six heads: (1) an indemnity of 200,000 taels of silver; (2) the rebuilding of a chapel destroyed in the riot; (3) the repayment of Germany's expenses incurred in the occupation of Kiaochou; (4) the Governor of Shantung, Li Ping Heng, to be cashiered and dismissed from the public service; (5) the severest penalties to be inflicted upon the murderers of the German priests, and upon the local authorities where the riot took place; and also (6)

Germans to be given the sole right to open coal-mines throughout the province of Shantung; special privileges to be granted Germans in the matter of railways in the said province, as well as the right to open mines within a belt of country twenty kilometers wide; and Germany to be given the privilege of storing coal at Kiaochou in perpetuity—that is, Kiaochou was to become a German naval coaling station "in perpetuity." Kiaochou has a spacious harbour, upon which the various Powers had had their eye for a long time. It was supposed to have been one of the items of the Cassini Convention that if this port suited the convenience of Russia, she should be allowed a temporary occupation. That Germany should be able to get it with no reference whatever to Russia was very improbable; the only rational conclusion being that in this respect there was a perfect understanding between those Powers.

In the final arrangement made with China, the Germans undertook the administration of a considerable section of country immediately contiguous to Kiaochou, thus being suddenly fitted out with what they term "the Colony of Kiaochou," which has ever since been the centre of a highly vitalized Teutonic activity of every kind, especially in the line of railway-building into the interior. Ch'ing Tao is less than four hundred nautical miles from Shanghai, and is the natural gateway to a fertile and prosperous region, the trade possibilities of which seem capable of indefinite expansion. In a decade full of surprises relating to the fixed and immobile Orient, it is difficult to recall any single event which has excited such general astonishment as the German occupation of Kiaochou.

A correspondent of a Shanghai paper writing from Chefoo, a port about two hundred miles distant, which could not fail to be greatly affected by the event, remarked

(with an incoherence pardonable in view of the circumstances) that, with the Mexican dollar falling in price, and trade prospects unusually gloomy owing to keen Chinese competition, this announcement was "a bolt from the blue, hard to digest and difficult to assuage"! The comments of the press, both in China and in other parts of the world, exhibited in a striking light the anomalous position in which China was placed. She had been treated as no Power whose opinion or whose navy was of any weight in the world would be treated, but there was not a friend to protest. Her persistent course of evasion, shuffling, and obstruction ever since the peace with Japan made it clear even to her well-wishers that nothing was to be hoped for from the present rulers of the Empire. They learned nothing and they forgot everything. The weak policy of Great Britain in the face of these things was a source not merely of discontent but of profound anxiety to all who understood the real state of things in China.

When Germany stepped forward in this imperious manner and sent her fleet under Admiral Diedrichs and seized the port which she wanted, negotiating for its lease for a term of ninety-nine years after it was in her control, it was very natural to say of China, and to feel it too, "Served her right." Not for the murder of the two priests, with which the capture of Kiaochou had only a formal connection, but for general wrong-headedness and incapacity to be taught by any but the bitter lessons of experience which she could not fail to feel. Except by the religious journals of the Far East, we do not remember that any attention was called to the true character of the proceeding of Germany from the point of view of international law, a code which it was doubtless thought, if it was thought of at all, was irrelevant to the case. The matter was argued about as if it had been

a commercial "deal" of a bold and venturesome character, with possible resultant complications, but for the most part as if it had been devoid of moral character. One was, indeed, reminded of the tone of obituaries which designedly pass entirely over whatever facts in the career of the deceased it would be "good form" to forget and ignore; and the same style of speech and writing continues down to the present day. Of this the much-discussed article by Sir Robert Hart in the "Fortnightly Review," on "A National Uprising and an International Episode," is an excellent example. In nearly thirty pages of description and discussion, there is no recognition of moral blame for any political agency leading to the acts of the Chinese. That agency is passed over with the lightest possible touch in two sentences at the close: "What has happened has been the logical effect of previous doings. Europe has not been ungenerous in her treatment of China, but, even so, has wounded her; a more tactful, reasonable, and consistent course might possibly have produced better results, but in no case could foreigners expect to maintain forever their extra-territorial status and the various commercial stipulations China has conceded to force."

There has been a general impression ever since the "lease" of Kiaochou that it was intended as a step toward obtaining the recognized overlordship, in various particulars, of the entire province of Shantung. That the whole affair was a fatal dart which never for an instant ceased to rankle in the Chinese body politic was long since known (and disregarded), but the ultimate results to which it led, in combination with other events which followed, the wildest flight of Oriental imagination could never have entertained.

The lease of Kiaochou had no sooner been arranged

than it began to be felt in the air that Russia was about to occupy the great naval station of Port Arthur, situated at the tip of the Manchurian peninsula previously referred to, and only a short distance from Ta Lien Wan, which was to be the terminus of the trans-Asian railway. This fine harbour figured largely in the war with Japan, being captured by the Japanese when it ought to have been surrendered only at the last extremity. It was here that the Japanese lost their customary self-restraint, and, rendered furious by the too palpable evidence of Chinese barbarities, proceeded to retaliate in kind upon the innocent and the helpless Chinese, to the great damage of Japanese reputation. The Chinese Government had for a long time been engaged in making this the naval headquarters for the northern portion of the Empire, and the sums of money reported to have been expended upon forts and dry-docks were of almost incredible magnitude.

A glance at a good map of Japan, Korea, and China will immediately convey an impression of the importance to China of this naval base. It is but one hundred and sixty-three nautical miles from Taku, and still nearer to Chefoo, constituting the key to the possession of northern China. That China should allow any Power whatever to retain it after Japan had been obliged to surrender it was simply incredible. That Great Britain would suffer Russia to take over this all-important fortress without a protest never entered into the thought of any one, for if this were done there was no other place at which any stand could be made, and it was apparently equivalent to committing China, body and soul, to the charge of her dangerous neighbour. There is much about the matter which still remains a mystery, but it seems certain that a display of something like the firmness shown in the Fashoda incident would have been an absolute bar to the

concession of this strategic position without the firing of a shot or the rendition of any visible equivalent. But the British fleet sailed away on more important business, and the die was cast! Those who are interested to examine the commercial aspects of this affair will find data in several recent works. We are concerned only to point out that this critical event was a long step in the road which led the Chinese to feel that the Empire was already at the mercy of its enemies, and that among those enemies was to be reckoned every nation whose flag had ever flown in Chinese waters. The treaty port of Newchwang soon became an object of dispute as to whether it was, or was not, to be regarded as within the new Russian sphere, the important question being complicated by British railway and commercial interests, which, with the rights of other nations under their treaties, appeared to have suddenly evaporated without any assignable cause and with no visible remedy.

The British Government lacked the decision to take a firm stand in the case of Port Arthur, but within a few weeks it became known that the Chinese Government had responded to a British demand to "lease" the fort and harbour of Wei Hai Wei as soon as it was evacuated by the Japanese, who held it as security for the payment of their indemnity. As to the value of this acquisition expert opinions have been at variance ever since the cession took place. If Great Britain had consistently refused to recognize the principle of seizing sections of the coast of China on the part of foreign Powers, her position would have been a strong one morally, whatever the consequences. As it was, she appeared in the light of a philanthropic friend from China who objected to seeing the Empire despoiled, "*but* if you insist upon taking the best there is, I, at all events, must have the next best." Following

so soon after the seizure of Kiaochou, the occupation of Wei Hai Wei led the Chinese to feel doubly sure that the doom of the Empire was sealed. The subsequent negotiations in regard to the extent of territory embraced in the district, and the actual delimitation of the frontiers, were full of ominous signs. The people were left in some uncertainty as to the nature of the transfer, and when the boundaries were fixed, an armed attack was made upon the British and their Chinese regiment, conveying to the population of Shantung the impression that the natives of that region were standing up for their rights against the usurpations of the insatiable barbarians. These highly natural disturbances on one side of the province were going on simultaneously with the Boxer outbreaks on the other side, and while there was no organic nexus between the two, they were each the result of the wider causes which had gradually enveloped the whole Empire as in a net.

The British had long wanted a larger territory on the mainland opposite the island of Hongkong than had been previously ceded, and, by taking advantage of their opportunity, they induced the Chinese Government to yield it. But the same tactless method just referred to in the case of Wei Hai Wei had been followed among the inflammable Cantonese, who were soon in a white heat of rage, arming themselves with whatever implements could be found and making fight for their altars and their fires. To their own dim thought they were as truly patriots as was William Tell in his resistance to the tyrant Gessler. Even the somewhat narrow-visioned journals of Hongkong sometimes admitted the justice of the Chinese case, and were perpetually indulging in the most caustic criticisms of the ineptitude of the conduct of the negotiations

and the ensuing occupation of the concession on the part of the Colonial Government.

The territory included in this "lease" was two hundred square miles, comprising the entire region on the mainland behind Kowlung to a line joining Mirs Bay and Deep Bay, besides the waters of those bays and the island of Lan Tao. When the natives of this tract found the British marching into their domain to take over the government of their city, and posting notices of their future intentions, showing that the Emperor's "rivers and mountains" had been alienated to the same hereditary foe which two generations ago wrested from Tao Kuang the island of Hongkong, their passionate resentment was not only perfectly natural, but did them credit.

While the Chinese of Tung Kun, to the number of several thousands, were threatening an attack on Kowlung (Kowloon) city and the docks, the "rebels" being shelled in their trenches and many Chinese killed and guns captured, until the despatch of 1,400 British troops and three gunboats to Kowlung city dispersed the "rioters," the French had determined that what in modern diplomatic parlance is styled the "psychological moment" had arrived to demand concessions of their own. The frontier of the Kuangtung province and Tongking was in a state of perpetual unrest from Chinese "Black Flags," who now kidnapped a Frenchman and anon slew a lieutenant, the French Government upon one occasion demanding an indemnity within eight days, "otherwise French action in the south of China will become necessary." In fact, "French action in the south of China" appeared to be a chronic necessity, and the port of "Kuang Chou Wan" was needed to reduce that action to a state of equilibrium. The large and attractive island of Hainan also was hang-

ing on the edge of the Chinese Empire like a pear fully ripe and only waiting for the French harvester to gather it into his fruit-bin.

In the summer of 1899 the Italian Government made the discovery that a port called Sanmên (or Sanmoon) in the Chêkiang province was required for the development of Italian trade. This demand was supposed to be backed up by both Great Britain and Germany, and it was understood that the Chinese were instigated to refuse it by the Japanese; not, however, from any sentimental considerations with regard to the integrity of the Chinese Empire, but because the cession of Sanmên would prejudice Japanese "claims" upon the province of Fukien, which, being directly opposite the island of Formosa, was a natural and an inevitable Japanese "sphere of influence." To the surprise of most observers, after the Court of Peking had recovered from its alarm that a Power like Italy should claim "a port," a definite refusal was returned. China had to draw the line somewhere, and she drew it (not improbably with cold shivers down the back for fear of the consequences) at Italy and her new and hitherto unheard of "port."

Again to the surprise of outsiders, and, as we must suppose, to the immense relief of China herself, there were no visible consequences whatever. In spite of whatever backing she received, the matter was dropped by Italy; but the results to China were, perhaps, more serious than if the demand had been acceded to. There is excellent reason to believe that the Chinese Court was delighted at its own audacity and its success, and came to the conclusion that if China would only oppose blunt and unconditional refusals to all foreign demands, she would in future escape the humiliating necessity for any further concession. At all events, the resources of the Govern-

ment appeared to be strained to put the country in a posture of defense, and during the autumn of 1899, in a "secret decree" the contents of which were soon divulged, all the most important Governors-General were peremptorily ordered to see that the Empire received no detriment, and in case of imminent foreign invasion to repel force by force without even waiting to report the matter to Peking—a mandate so extraordinary, if not unexampled, as to show that some new influences were at work.

The combined effect of the incidents which have been mentioned—and of many others which must be omitted—was to convey forcibly to the minds of foreigners expert in Chinese affairs a conviction that the actual partition of the Chinese Empire was in progress; and while this was at times doubted or even denied, it is difficult to see upon what other hypothesis we can account for the trend of current events.

It was about this time that the volume containing the results of the opportune and thorough examination of some aspects of Chinese affairs by Lord Charles Beresford was published, under the significant title of "The Break-up of China." The perfectly frank comments of this distinguished commercial sailor were translated into Chinese, and were doubtless well known to such leaders as directed the policy at Peking. For several years, foreign journals, in China and out of it, had spoken of the coming partition of the Empire as an event immediately impending, and in the translations of these countless essays published in the Chinese journals the readers were perpetually gratified by finding the contingency alluded to with the use of a character which signifies "to cut up like a water-melon." The most enlightened Chinese officials have long been in the habit of keeping track to some extent

of the discussions in the foreign press, both of China and the West, by means of translations of whatever seemed to be most worthy of attention. By this means a definite acquaintance with what was talked of and written about must have been constantly communicated to all those who took any interest in the subject. From these sources it would not be difficult for any well-informed Chinese to learn what the British thought of the rapid strides of the Russians in Manchuria, and of the designs of the French on the southern border. On the other hand, the press of Continental lands was by no means silent, nor, when attention had been effectively arrested to consider the tremendous possibilities of Chinese economic development in China, were the writers on the American side of the Atlantic behind the rest in pointing out what share of the "spoil" belonged to the United States. The most recent maps of China, appearing in works large and small, agree in marking out "proposed" railway lines, and the most careless inspection could not fail to excite wonder at the number and length of these promised (or threatened) improvements, concessions for which at certain periods seem to be signed at intervals of a few days only.

A recapitulation of a few of the more important projected railway routes, especially when traced on a map, will convey a graphic idea of the extent to which the prophecy of the author of one of the anti-foreign writings already quoted had been fulfilled: "China from north to south, and from east to west, is to have foreign railways and carriage roads. The mountains and the rivers of China, the natural barriers of the country, are to be treated by foreigners according to their will, the mountains to be levelled and the rivers filled up just as they please."

It should be remembered that the only railways in China actually in operation at the time of the outbreak

of the Boxers, were (1) the Chinese line from Peking to Tientsin, extended to Shan Hai Kuan and to Newchwang in Manchuria.

(2) The northern end of the Lu—Han route, open from Peking to Ting Chou south of Pao Ting Fu. Considerable work had also been done on the southern terminus near Hankow.

(3) A short line from Shanghai to Wusung, on the Yangtze river.

There seems to be no trustworthy and authentic list of the various "railway concessions" which had already been definitely made by the Chinese to foreign syndicates, nor of the much more numerous projected lines which it was hoped would materialize at a later day. The following table is compiled mainly from the maps in Lord Charles Beresford's "Break-up of China," Mr. Colquhoun's "Overland to China," and Mr. Joseph Walton's "China and the Present Crisis." The concessions were in all stages of evolution, and many of the projected routes were literally "air-lines." This is, however, of no importance for our purpose, since the agitation of the subject of an intended railway might easily tend to excite intense animosity, and in the case of so many and so important undertakings the effect of the total anticipated changes might easily become cumulative and tremendous.

(1) The Trans-Siberian line from the border of Siberia through Tsitsihar in Manchuria, to Harbion, whence one fork diverged to Vladivostock, and the other south through Mukden, terminating at Ta Lien Wan, opposite Port Arthur, with a short branch to Newchwang. This road was opened as far as Mukden, and for its protection an unknown number of Russian troops had been introduced into Manchuria in accordance with the "Cassini Convention."

(2) A suggested line from Peking, through the Nan K'ou Pass to Kalgan, thence via Urga in Mongolia, to Kiakhta, joining the Trans-Siberian route at the shores of Lake Baikal.

(It is not improbable that this will be one of the first concessions which Russia will demand before the close of the present negotiations, together with a line from Peking to Newchwang, which will tighten the Russian grip on the Capital of the Chinese Empire, and the province of Chihli.)

(3) The Belgian Lu—Han line from Peking (now called the Pei—Han), with a projected branch to Lu An Fu in southern Shansi.

(4) A Russian line from Chêng Ting Fu on the Lu—Han route, through the Ku Kuan (Pass) to T'ai Yuan Fu, the capital of Shansi, with a possible extension to Hsi An Fu (Si Ngan Fu), in Shensi. Whether the latter projection was to be financed by the Russo-Chinese Bank (i. e., the Russian Government) or by the Anglo-Italian Syndicate it is difficult to ascertain.

(5) A Russian line from Lu An Fu (as above) southwest to Hsiang Yang in the province of Hupei.

(6) An American line from Hankow to Canton (called the Yueh—Han), passing through Yo Chou, and Ch'ang Sha Fu, the capital of Hunan.

(7) A branch of the last-named, extending from Ch'ang Sha eastward through Nan Ch'ang Fu, the capital of Kiangsi, and eastward to Kuang Hsin in the same province, to connect with the next.

(8) A British line from Shanghai to Suchow, Hangchow, and thence south to Kuang Hsin, as above. A branch of this was to extend from Hangchow to Ningpo on the coast of Chêkiang.

(9) An Anglo-German line from Tientsin to Chinkiang, on the Yangtze.

(10) A German line from Kiaochou through northern Shantung, *via* Chi Nan Fu, the capital, to connect with the preceding.

(11) Another fork of the same through southern Shantung *via* I Chou Fu, to join No. 9, near the provincial boundary.

(12) A line from Shanghai to Suchow and Chinkiang (as above), westward through Nanking to Hsin Yang in Honan, joining the Lu—Han route.

(13) A line from Nanking westward *via* K'ai Fêng Fu, the capital of Honan, to some point in southern Shansi to intercept the route from T'ai Yuan Fu to Hsi An Fu (No. 4, above).

(14) A British line from Kowlung (opposite Hongkong on the mainland) to Canton, thence northwest *via* Kuei Lin Fu, and Kuei Yang Fu, the capitals of Kuangsi, and Kueichou provinces, to Ch'eng Tu Fu, the capital of Szechuan.

(15) A British line from northern Siam *via* Yünnan Fu to Chung Ch'ing on the upper Yangtze river.

(16) A British line from Mandalay in upper Burmah *via* Kun Lun Ferry to Ta Li Fu, in western Yünnan, with a branch eastward to Yünnan Fu, the capital.

(17) A French line from Hanoi in Tongking to Yünnan Fu.

(18) A French line from Hanoi *via* Langson to Nan Ning Fu, with a branch to Pose, the head of navigation on the Ya Chiang.

(19) A French line from Pakhoi on the Kuangtung seacoast, to Nan Ning Fu.

(20) From the Tung T'ing Lake in Hupei, southwest

via Kuei Yang Fu, to Yünnan Fu, connecting with other routes mentioned above.

The most careless reader cannot glance over a list like this (and it is far from being a complete register of all the "proposed" routes), without being struck by the revolutionary consequences which anyone of these railways might entail. Each of them was expected to "open up" China in a way to astonish the natives, and enrich the benevolent introducers of so much potential happiness into the Celestial Empire. Extensive surveys had been made upon some of these lines, often with great danger to the surveyors and their staff. It has already been remarked that the shrewd Chinese understood perfectly that these roads would be avenues by which the wealth of Chinese was to be conducted to foreign lands with greater celerity and safety than hitherto. The railways here planned were to enter the capitals of fifteen out of the eighteen provinces of China, as well as that of Manchuria. As already mentioned each one of the routes implied heavy financial obligations on the part of the Chinese Government. To meet these it was necessary to raise ever more and more money. The Imperial Maritime Customs has, at several different times, been the financial salvation of China, but when it was proposed to put the collection of the inland likin taxes upon the same basis as the foreign customs, every official who had been nourished by the former, felt that a blow had been struck at his means of support.

In an interview with Lord Charles Beresford H. E., Liu K'un Yi, the Governor-General of the river provinces said that if taxes had to be levied to provide for the provincial administration, in consequence of the new arrangement in regard to likin, he was certain that there would be disturbances based upon dislike of the for-

eigner. In connection with the projected railways it could not escape the observation of the observant Chinese that Western nations were running races with each other in their eagerness to effect loans with the Chinese Government, for the payment of which the new improvements would be held as mortgages, with the probability that it would be a long time before China would again be free. With what feelings these impending changes would be regarded by most Chinese, it is easy to imagine. Those feelings would be intensified from the circumstance that many of the proposed railroads involved concessions for mining rights, present or prospective, and in some cases hundreds of square miles of the richest mineral land in the Empire (or perhaps in the world) had been bargained for by "syndicates" eager to enter upon their inheritance, and not infrequently eying one another with jealousy and ill will. Great Britain was supposed to have pre-empted the Yangtze Valley, and looked with great uneasiness upon the resolute struggles of the French to gain a supreme hold upon Kuangsi, Yünnan, and Kueichou provinces, with the great imperial objective of Szechuan in view beyond. Each of these Powers would have been glad to apply a Chinese "Monroe Doctrine" to the other. Fukien province was supposed to fall to Japan, while Italy hoped for Chêkiang, with a railway leading somewhere to foster her infant trade. Shantung was the German monopoly. Manchuria was Russian, while the metropolitan province of Chihli was for the time debatable land, the future of which was complicated by rival and conflicting interests in mines in Shansi. An entertaining and an instructive volume might be compiled by one who had the requisite information on the inner history of all these tangles of commercial diplomacy.

In many quarters the new arrangements were held to

be harbingers of the new era upon which China was about to enter—nay, had entered. It is quite conceivable that if some of the complicated factors had been but a very little different the explosion might have been avoided, or at least postponed; but the materials were all there, and some of them were already alight.

It cannot be wondered at that the Chinese themselves were bewildered at the situation in which they found themselves and their ancient empire. Their condition recalls an anecdote of which Mr. Lincoln made use at a time when certain parties presumed to dictate to him a policy. A rider was mounted upon a horse which was much annoyed by flies, and in one of its impatient kicks the hind hoof caught in the stirrup. The horseman glanced down to see what was the matter, and when he had ascertained, he observed to his steed: "If *you* are going to get on, *I* will get off!"

Probably there is not another country on the planet where events and conditions such as have been very imperfectly hinted at would not long before have produced an outbreak. "What the Barbarians want," said a ruler quoted in Mencius, "*is my territory.*" The events of the past few years had made it clear to the perceptions of the Manchu rulers of the Chinese Empire that, in these days also, "what the Barbarians want is my territory." The Barbarians were, it is true, numerous and strong, but so were the Chinese. The more they reflected upon the intolerable situation, the fiercer grew the flame of their anger, and the more determined the resolution by one master stroke to put an end to their bondage. The Chinese Tiger, when roused, is himself reputed to be a formidable beast. When he should have been equipped with Boxer wings, he would be absolutely invincible. With this view, and in this hope and confident expecta-

tion, was launched such a singular crusade as the weary earth, after nineteen centuries of experience in the Christian era, and we know not how many precedent to that epoch, had never seen before. As a psychological novelty, and as a study in the contrarieties of the Chinese mind, the phenomena offer a field of investigation almost absolutely new; and, in view of the tremendous interests involved, it is very unlikely that mankind, however treacherous its memory or however occupied with the exigencies of the hour, will venture to forget its experience in the Chinese Empire during the closing year of the nineteenth century.

IX

REACTION AGAINST REFORM

THE present Emperor of China is a son of Prince Ch'un I Hua, the seventh son of the Emperor whose style was Tao Kuang, or the Glory of Reason. He was followed by Hsien Fêng, who died in Manchuria at Jehol, in 1861, not long after the British had captured Peking, in October, 1860, and forced China to sign the Treaty of Tientsin. The wife of the deceased Emperor had no son, but his principal concubine had a child—then six years old—who was placed upon the throne by the combined influence of Prince Kung, the sixth son of Tao Kuang, and the lad's mother. The young monarch took the title of T'ung Chih, or Combined Rule, which dimly hinted at the historic fact that a great conspiracy against the two Empresses and against the three brothers of the late Emperor had been detected and foiled and the plotters punished. The result was a union of the interests of the two Empresses, and of Prince Kung, with that of the young Emperor.

The reign of T'ung Chih was comparatively short, as he died January 12th, 1875, without having exhibited any talents whatever. As he left no heir, the question of succession was a delicate and difficult matter, as no one of a higher generation was eligible, and candidates of the same generation as the deceased Emperor were exceedingly limited in number. The son of Prince Kung was out of the question, as his choice would mean that

PALACE WHERE EMPEROR KUANG HSÜ WAS BORN

his father—who was an indispensable factor in the Government—would be obliged to perform the prostrations to his own son,—an act repugnant to all Chinese ideas. Otherwise the father would have to retire from public life altogether. The next available candidate was the son of Prince Ch'un, who was at the time less than four years and a half old. He was unanimously selected by the Empresses and by the Princes of the Manchu Clan, and was put upon the throne with the style of Kuang Hsü, or Continuation of Glory. As the mother of the infant Emperor, the "Western Empress" was able to exert a great influence, which was still farther extended when the Eastern Empress died in 1881, helped out of the world, as an unkind public has insisted upon believing, by her more resourceful rival the mother of T'ung Chih, who has since been known simply as the Empress Dowager.

There is probably no human being now alive in regard to whom so much has been written, upon such a slender basis of actual knowledge, as the Aunt of Kuang Hsü whose advent in the Palace was in the middle of the century now closed, and whose full name (aside from her title of Empress) extends to the limit of sixteen syllables, represented in English by more than sixty letters. She has been described as a grossly ignorant and a highly educated lady; as a pattern of regal virtues worthy to rank with the late Empress of India, and as a monster of wickedness whose hands are stained with blood, and whose soul is debased with lust and constantly agitated by gusts of demoniac fury.

The truth probably lies in the medium between these extremes. Her natural gifts must have been unusual, and she has enjoyed the practical education of experience in an Oriental Court, the very atmosphere of which is in-

trigue and corruption, for a term far beyond the period allotted to most rulers of the earth. She has become an expert opportunist, and while the events of the past few years give abundant proof that she is wholly destitute of anything which could be justly described as statesmanship, she has a superabundance of what may well be conceded to be state-*craft*—meaning by that term the talent for dissimulation, for quick perception of what can and what can not be done at a given time, and (what is not less important) of those who are the ones to do it. She is a woman of an imperious will, not often thwarted with impunity, and entirely capable of raising at pleasure such storms as strike terror into the hearts of any who may be liable to be caught in the portentous typhoons resulting from such a rash procedure.

The assumption of the reins of government by the young Emperor is sometimes placed at the beginning of the thirteenth year of his reign, February, 1887, when a decree was issued intimating that Her Majesty the Empress Dowager considered him fit to rule; upon which in suitable phraseology he said (or was made to say) that the announcement caused him to tremble as if in mid ocean, with no knowledge of the location of the land. Two years later, in March, 1889, the Empress Dowager selected for him a wife, and announced her intention of retiring from active participation in the affairs of the government.

That a Manchu woman who had had such narrow opportunities of obtaining a knowledge of things as they really are, in distinction from the tissue of shams which constitute the warp and the woof of an Oriental Palace, should have been able to hold her own in every situation, and never to be crushed by the opposing forces about her, is a phenomenon in itself only to be explained by

a due recognition of the influence of individual qualities in a ruler even in the semi-absolutism of China. The difference between such a government as that of the Middle Kingdom and that of any European State is the difference between the impenetrable seclusion of the private parlours of the rich, and the public life of the poor, all phases of which may be witnessed at any time on the streets before their tenements. The Chinese Government is essentially marsupial, for it is confined within a space half a mile square, within the inaccessible Forbidden City, where the nature of the struggles and strife within is as effectually concealed from the world as the squabbles of the young kangaroos in the pouch of their mother; all that reaches the ear of the outsider is the smothered squeals which indicate that one party is getting the worst of it, but how or why it is impossible to say. It is true that there are always "eunuchs" who reveal or pretend to reveal much of what is said and done, and through the high officials who have audiences at Court much more eventually leaks out; but for foreigners it is certain that the media through which their information filters are semi-opaque, and the result of a study of the apparent facts is always unsatisfactory and often confusing.

In what follows we shall not attempt to unravel the mystery which overhangs much of the strange story of the silent revolution accomplished in the Palace of Kuang Hsü, but simply to give a rough sketch of the trend of events, with special reference to the developments of later years.

Prince Kung was an important factor in the Government, until his disgrace in connection with the failures of the Chinese army during the French war in 1883-84, when his younger brother, Prince Ch'un, the seventh son

of Tao Kuang, came to the front. This he did in a most remarkable if not unexampled way, considering the difficulty of allowing a father to be the subject of a son, and a son to be the superior of his father, a dilemma so serious that when Kuang Hsü was chosen to the succession it was supposed that Prince Ch'un would either commit suicide or retire into a permanent seclusion. During the comparatively short time in which he was prominent in the councils of the Government he showed signs of having greatly enlarged his vision and if he had lived it was hoped that he might have become a leader in many important modifications of Chinese policy.

With the death of Prince Ch'un it is quite probable that the balance of influence in the Palace was altered, and although Prince Kung remained in seclusion to the end of his life, it is certain that his influence was great, and that at his death in the spring of 1898 an important balance-wheel in the intricate governmental machine was lost.

That Western ideas should find an entrance even into the Imperial Palace itself was inevitable. In the year 1894 the idea occurred to one of the Protestant missionaries in China that it would be a graceful and an appropriate act to present to the Empress Dowager a copy of the New Testament, on the occasion of the completion of her 60th year. The thought was a fruitful seed in fertile soil, the outcome of which was the preparation of a special edition in large type, with gold border and solid silver covers embossed with bamboo designs. The funds were received from the Christian women of the Protestant Chinese churches in China, twenty-nine missions furnishing 10,900 contributors whose donations amounted to more than $1,100. On the 11th of November the casket containing this gift was carried to the

Tsung Li Yamen by the British and the American Ministers, and on the following day it was sent by the Yamen Ministers to Her Majesty, and was subsequently acknowledged by suitable return gifts to twenty-two lady missionaries who had been prominent in the movement.

The curiosity excited by this volume must have been great. The Emperor hearing of it, sent trusty men to the depository of the American Bible Society to procure copies of the Bible for himself. At a later period he interested himself in obtaining all the back numbers of the "Review of the Times," a magazine published in Shanghai, edited by Dr. Y. J. Allen; the perusal of this could not fail to raise a multitude of questions in the Emperor's mind. What effect these occurrences had in making him receptive to further enlightenment, it is impossible to affirm with any certainty. It was commonly reported that His Majesty had learned to pray, and that he was favourable to the diffusion of Christianity. Many years before, he had begun to take lessons in the English language, a circumstance from which fallacious inferences were drawn. Toy railways and the like abounded in the Imperial pleasure grounds, and it is certain that the Emperor entertained a high respect for some aspects of the Western Civilization of which he knew so little.

The years following the disastrous war between China and Japan were for all friends of China a particularly melancholy period. Such an impressive and humiliating object-lesson with regard to the serious if not fatal defects of the administration of an ancient empire is not often found in history. Yet as year after year passed away, and the consciousness of national disgrace seemed to be dying out, it was evident to all observers that the crisis could not be indefinitely postponed. The opportunity had come, and was apparently to be allowed to go

unheeded, while the Empire was steadily drifting upon the rocks.

In the spring of 1898, three years after peace had been concluded with Japan, there began to be signs that a real desire for Reform had taken possession of the minds of some of the members of the official class in Peking, and that the Emperor himself had become an earnest and even an eager advocate of the changes without which the autonomy of his Empire was in danger of being lost. The first symptoms of this state of things appeared to outsiders in May, and not long afterwards the Emperor was launched upon a rising tide which seemed to carry everything before it. During the early part of that year a plan had been set on foot for raising money by means of a "National Loan," money for which was secured from wealthy Chinese by means familiar to the people of that land. Against the extortions accompanying this levy, there had been some protests in the Chinese and foreign press, and a Censor memorialized the Emperor that the practice was becoming obnoxious to the people. In an edict of May 18th His Majesty explained that his idea was to make a permanent loan after the manner of other countries, and to give every one full liberty of choice whether to subscribe or not. All high authorities and the Boards concerned were ordered to see that all extortion was summarily stopped, on penalty of severe punishment.

Soon after another scheme to raise money was found in what was called the "House and Opium tax," which was suggested by a memorial, submitted to the Board of Revenue, approved by them, and made a law by an Imperial edict. But on the 5th of June another edict was issued informing the people that the Emperor had learned by secret investigation that this tax

would cause much misery and inconvenience. It had indeed excited great opposition at the south, where it was enforced. The Emperor frankly explained that he was not aware of the evil effects of this plan until its enforcement had begun, but now that it was revoked all officials, high and low were expressly forbidden to extort money under colour of this rule, and the people were authorised to resist such extortion on the part of officials, should it be attempted. It was evident that a new spirit was entering into the Imperial administration.

Six days later appeared a brief edict relating to the selection of Ministers for foreign lands, who were recognised as being of the highest importance to the State. Viceroys and Governors were to recommend such men as they might find best qualified for the place, whose "education and abilities were of a practical and high order and who were not enveloped in the narrow circle of bigoted conservatism, and a clinging to obsolete and unpractical custom."

Such men were to be recommended to the Tsung Li Yamen irrespective of their rank, for an Imperial audience and employment abroad.

On the same day appeared a long edict on the subject of reform in general, in which the Emperor recapitulates some of the desirable reforms at which he had been aiming, such as improving the personnel of the armies, substituting "modern arms and Western organisation; selecting military officers according to Western methods of military education; the institution of high and elementary schools and colleges of literary instruction in accordance with those which obtain in foreign countries, all for the sake of starting our country on the road of progress." The Emperor proceeds to show that he had long been desirous to carry through these reforms, and had given

the subject careful and protracted study, but he had found many old officials of the state arguing that China ought to stick to the very letter of the ancient institutions. Many of the objections and suggestions he had found empty, vain, and impracticable.

The following paragraph is of peculiar and special importance: "Our scholars now are without solid and practical education; our artisans are without scientific instructors; when compared with other countries we soon see the difference between our strength and the strength of others; and when we compare the ready wealth of this Empire with that of other countries the difference is still greater. Does any one think that in our present condition he can really say with any truth that our men are as well drilled and well led as those of any of the foreign armies; or that we can successfully stand against any of them? We are conscious of the fact that unless We in our Own person decide firmly and strongly, Our commands will not go far in execution. . . . The methods of government inaugurated by the Sung and the Ming Dynasties, upon investigation, reveal nothing that is of any practical use or that may be of advantage to China."

The succeeding paragraphs argue that "changes must be made to accord with the necessities of the times. It is apparent that we must give a plain and unvarnished decree on the subject, so that all may understand our wishes. Keeping in mind the morals of our sages and wise men, we must make them the basis on which to build newer and more advantageous methods. We must also select such subjects of Western knowledge as will keep us in touch with the times, and diligently study them and practice them in order to place our country abreast of other countries. Let us cast off from us the empty,

unpractical, and deceiving things which obstruct our forward progress and strive with single heartedness and energy to improve upon all things that we have learned: Let us eliminate the crust of neglect that has accumulated on our systems, and cast away the shackles that bind us."

The concluding section of this remarkable deliverance showed the importance of a great central University in Peking, and ordered steps to be taken for its inception, the final sentences declaring "We earnestly hope that all will eagerly take advantage of the modern education now opened to them, so that in time we may have many able and willing helpers in the great and arduous work before us of putting our country on a level with the best of the Western powers. Let every one listen to and obey these our sincere and earnest words, and let it be known that this edict is specially for all our subjects."

Two days after the appearance of this edict, there was issued (June 13th) a decree in the "Peking Gazette" saying that a Censor had recommended to His Majesty's notice a person named K'ang Yü Wei, who had been appointed third class Secretary in the Board of Works, as being a man of deep learning and exceptional abilities and progressive ideas. It was ordered that he be presented in special audience.

A native of a village near Canton, he had acquired such a reputation that he was popularly known as "K'ang the Modern Sage and Reformer." He had the welfare of China deeply at heart and had studied its conditions and the possible methods of reformation until he had clear and definite ideas of what could be done, and of what ought to be done. Such a man in China is indeed a rare phenomenon, and it is not to be wondered at that when it became known that the Emperor was turning his mind in the same direction, K'ang should be brought

to his notice. The Emperor's tutor, Wêng T'ung Ho devoted some attention to Mr. K'ang, as did the President of the Board of Rites, and it was owing to their influence that he was introduced to His Majesty Kuang Hsü.

On the third of January he had had the honour of a conference with the Tsung Li Yamen, all the members of which were present, the interview lasting about three hours. The reforms which K'ang advocated were that China should have a properly constituted judicial system, and that a foreigner should be engaged conjointly with himself and others to revise the laws and the Government administrative departments. He recognized the fact that unless the laws and administration were improved, railways, a navy, and improved education would be next to useless, and he thought that the Emperor had been pushing on the other reforms without having prepared the way for them.

The morning after the conference, Prince Kung and Wêng T'ung Ho reported it to the Emperor, who ordered K'ang to embody his ideas in a memorial. This was subsequently done. The gist of the revolutionary proposals was that His Majesty should imitate Japan,—should cut completely adrift from the ways and manners of the past, and follow in the footsteps of Peter the Great. K'ang pointed out that under the present system there was no way of ascertaining the desires and opinions of the people. The present Ministers and Viceroys could only act upon orders given them, and were unable to do any original thinking. It was necessary to select young, intelligent men, imbued with Western ideas, to assist in the regeneration of the Empire, to confer with the Emperor every day, discussing measures for reform, but first devoting their energies to a revision of the laws and the administration. The old officials must be dispensed

with. There should be twelve new departments, 1, Law; 2, Treasury; 3, Educational (with foreign teachers); 4, Legislative; 5, Agricultural; 6, Commercial; 7, Mechanical; 8, Railway; 9, Postal; 10, Mining; 11, Army; 12, Navy, — all on Western lines, with foreigners to advise and assist.

These suggestions were worked out in some detail, and it was pointed out how, by abolishing likin taxes, adjusting the tariff, issuing bank-notes, establishing a stamp duty, and adopting other financial reforms, a total of 70,000,000 taels of silver could be readily raised for revenue.

When the memorial was presented, the Emperor was said to have been highly pleased, and commended it to the Tsung Li Yamen for a report upon it. Prince Kung and Jung Lu were opposed to the scheme, and as the reforms were so sweeping no one was willing to adopt the suggestions, or even to report upon them.

K'ang also sent to the Emperor two books which he had prepared on "The Reform of Japan," and "The Reform of Russia," following them later with an additional memorial advising the Emperor to be determined, and not to dally with the reform proposals. On the 16th of June, K'ang was granted an audience with the Emperor, which lasted for two hours, the interesting details of which were made public in an interview with K'ang at Hongkong several months later. The Emperor was evidently deeply impressed, and most of the edicts issued during the eventful summer appeared to be directly due to the inspiration obtained from this source.

On June 23d a decree was issued abolishing the *Wên-Chang* or literary essay, as the standard for literary examination. The precedent of K'ang Hsi was cited, although the change did not last long at that time. It was pointed

out that the present state of scholarship was low, that frauds abounded, and that no progress was made beyond the point required to take a degree. "To this deplorable state have we now come. But to attain solid and practical education, adequate to the times we live in, we must cast away all empty and obsolete customs, nor can we advance true talent by following the old *régime*. . . . We have been compelled to issue this decree because our examinations have degenerated to the lowest point, and we see no way to remedy matters other than to change entirely the old methods of examination for a new course of competition. Still scholars must not forget to continue to study the Confucian Analects and the Classics as the root of their education, from whence they are to write short, practical essays suitable to the times we live in. Let all try to reject empty and useless knowledge which has no practical value in the crisis we are passing through." The details of the new plan were to be determined by the Board of Rites.

Thus by a stroke of his pen the progressive and enlightened young Emperor revolutionised the stream of Chinese thought, long since semi-stagnant, and opened new channels. We cannot pause to describe the effects of these startling changes throughout the Empire, but there is a strong probability that if there had been no political counter action, the new scheme might have been put into operation without serious opposition, and with far-reaching and beneficent effects; for there was already a large minority of thinking men throughout the Empire who profoundly felt the necessity of a change of some sort, and would have gladly followed an Imperial leader.

It is true that not a few foreigners ignored or decried the Reform Movement as the mere effervescence of a handful of brainless enthusiasts whose zeal outran their

knowledge—dreamers, not practical men. But there are others, whose occupation gave them ample opportunity of obtaining incontestable evidence, who affirm that it was a national and intellectual movement that permeated the provinces and moved the mind of the nation. A renaissance had begun. In almost every Provincial Capital, as in every open port, zealous efforts had been made to enlighten the literati and reach the intellect of the empire. Book depots had been established for the supply and sale of standard literature,—books, educational, scientific, and religious. Magazines and newspapers had been issued and circulated, lectures delivered and libraries started. Thus literature and light, adapted to the needs of the leaders of the people, had been disseminated throughout the land. Prejudices had been broken down, and race hatred overcome. Attention was aroused, interest awakened, and inquiry started. The Movement was gradually leavening the thought and moulding the minds of the upper classes.

Thus in the ancient and remote Capital of Hsi An Fu, books were purchased by all classes, from the Governor of the Province to the humblest scholar. Putting aside their former supercilious contempt they became friendly and enquiring. By and by the confidence of the magistrates and the esteem of the literati were gained. The aristocracy of the place requested that classes be formed and the once despised foreigner invited to bestow upon them the "light of his learning." Invitations were received to visit the Confucian Colleges and publicly proclaim from the "Hall of Instruction" the secret of the success and the source of the energy of the Christian nations.

Thousands of scholars were compelled by an intellectual compulsion to discard their time-worn theories and face

in earnest the problems of reform. They instituted clubs for the circulation of books and the publication of newspapers; societies to re-state and revive Confucianism. An intellectual fermentation had set in and there was a complete change in the attitude and receptiveness of the scholars. What occurred in Hsi An Fu, took place throughout the empire with many of the literati. Their ideas were changed and their ideals were changing. The Reform Movement shook the empire. Had it not been so drastically and barbarously checked it might have transformed China.

On the 26th appeared a decree commanding the Princes and Ministers who seemed to be dallying with the question of the Imperial University which had been referred to them, and had made no report, to do so at once with "no more unmeaning delays in the matter." An additional decree promised severe punishments for those who thus delayed and made no reports on matters committed to them. On the same day there was a decree ordering Sheng Taotai to hasten his preparations for the Lu-Han railway, as it was the Emperor's wish to begin work on it immediately.

On the 4th of July a decree appeared establishing a potential Bureau of Agriculture, on the plan of the Shanghai Agricultural Association, upon the recommendation of the Tsung Li Yamen, and books were to be translated for use as text-books in Agricultural Schools and Colleges to be projected in the near future.

Two days later the Board of War and the Tsung Li Yamen were ordered to report on several memorials looking to radical changes in the method of military examinations, and suggestions that graduates of Western Learning Schools should be allowed to compete for literary degrees at Peking. On the 7th a short decree established

what was virtually a system of Copyright and Patent Laws for the Empire, and the Yamen was ordered to draw up the necessary rules. Six days after, the report of the Yamen was received and approved, and the scheme was put into practical operation throughout the Empire.

On the 10th of July there appeared an edict of a highly important character, establishing Schools and Colleges in all Provincial capitals, prefectural cities, and in departmental and district cities. Two months were allowed to the Viceroys and Governors to report upon the number of colleges and free schools within their jurisdiction, since all were to be altered into schools for practical Chinese literature and for Western Learning. All these were to be feeders of the new Imperial University. The China Merchants Company, the Telegraph Administration, and a Lottery in Canton were to furnish funds, while subscriptions were to be called for, and rewards given for them. As a measure of economy, all memorial and other temples built by the people, and not recorded in the lists of the Board of Rites and Court of Sacrificial Worship, were to be turned into schools and colleges for the propagation of the new learning.

This amazing innovation fairly took away the breath of the whole Empire. The conservatives set themselves to resist it by that delay and obstruction so odious to the impatient Reformer in Peking. To the really progressive there seemed to be coming a new heaven and a new earth for old and worn out China.

On the 16th an extended edict on economy and retrenchment concluded with a sharp warning to Ministers who did not deal frankly and honestly with the Emperor in his difficulties. "They had been loaded with honours, where was their gratitude? They continued to put a veneer on their actions and tried to deceive Us. This was

a last warning. Should there be the same backwardness and laziness in future, they would find it hard to bear the burden of Our righteous indignation."

On the 18th of July a decree mentioned a suggestion that a paper called "Chinese Progress" published in Shanghai should be an official organ, and ordered a report upon it. Two days later a long decree authorized regulations for the new examinations, and definitely relegated mere caligraphy to a secondary place. On the 22nd, the Board of Revenue was ordered to examine carefully into the advisability of an immediate repeal of all purchase and sale of official rank. In an edict on the 25th mention was made of the book of Chang Chih Tung called "Exhortations to Study" ("China's Only Hope"), which the Emperor said would be of great benefit and instruction to the literati of the Empire, among whom it was ordered to be disseminated. The perusal of this stirring and patriotic brochure must have added greatly to the flaming zeal of those who wished to see the old give way to the new.

July 29th saw two edicts, one of which ordered the establishment of schools and colleges to be feeders for the Imperial University, as already suggested, and the other a strict, impartial, thorough and speedy reform in the trial of cases before the various Boards and Courts. On August 4th it was ordered that steps be taken to establish numerous Preparatory Schools in Peking for the University, and on the 9th the regulations suggested by the Chinese President, Sun Chia Nai, were approved, a site fixed, and Dr. W. A. P. Martin was appointed to be the Head of the University Faculty; "in recognition of his previous services, and to encourage him to further efforts, We hereby grant him the brevet button of the second rank as a special honour. The Board of Civil Ap-

pointments is commanded to take note of this." (This honour required Dr. Martin to be addressed as "Ta Jên," or "Your Excellency."

It was on the same day that the appointment of "Chinese Progress" as a Government organ was commanded, its funds provided for, its uses and value explained at length, and provision made for its universal circulation through the Empire.

The next day brought another long and confidential decree in which the Emperor communicated to his people his innermost aspirations, urging them to try to comprehend his ideas, to co-operate with him and to recommend suitable men. It highly praised Ch'en Pao Chên who "by constant effort, has as it were, hammered the advantages of practical modern reform into the minds of gentry and literati of Hunan, and has brought them to join him in efforts in that direction. You should all strive to follow that Governor's earnestness and diligent energy." Those who still "try to follow the letter of antiquated usages should be punished, for they have proved their unfitness to be entrusted with posts of responsibility."

Another decree of the same date ordered consultation by high officers as to means for providing men competent to command a navy, and ordered Wang Wên Shao and Chang Yin Huan to consult on this, and also on the establishment of schools to train men in the management of railways and mines, "as China is just on the threshold of these branches of modern industry and advancement."

On the 16th of August a decree authorized the establishment at Shanghai of a Reform Translating Bureau for "putting into Chinese Western Works on Science, Arts, and Literature, and text-books for the schools and colleges." Liang Ch'i Tsao, late editor of "Chinese Progress," was put in charge, and the regulations sug-

gested by him were approved, and funds were ordered to be furnished on a liberal scale for the work, for printing machinery, and American text-books. On the 19th a decree abolished the ornamental " Palace Examinations " for Hanlin scholars, as useless, superficial, and obsolete, making the degree of Chin Shih (or Doctor) the end of the curriculum.

Two days later the Yamen sent a memorial to the Emperor on behalf of suggestions by K'ang Yü Wei (then a second class Secretary of the Board of Works), as the result of the adoption of which a Chief Bureau of Agriculture, Arts, and Commerce was established. In each province there were to be Branch Bureaus, the date of the early opening of which was to be reported by telegraph. In every prefecture and district newspapers dealing with agricultural reform were to be started, modern labour-saving machinery was to be introduced, and every stimulus given to the study of Western mechanical science and international trade.

The same day a report was mentioned from the Tsung Li Yamen, as a result of which it was commanded that schools should be set up by Chinese Ministers and Consuls abroad for the sons of Chinese living in foreign lands. The Ministers to Great Britain and France were ordered to engage competent translators and to put into Chinese the most important works on the science of government, text-books for schools, etc., taking care to keep the meaning of the originals.

A decree announced a grand review of the troops of the Peking Field Force and the Pei Yang Armies, to take place at the Southern Hunting Park and at Tientsin, from Oct. 18th to Nov. 8th, the Empress Dowager being asked to honour the tour with her presence. Vast sums of money were expended at Tientsin, where the latter part of the

ceremony was to be held, the Court to travel for the first time by rail. On the 26th of August, Liu K'un Yi and F'an Chung Lin, Governors General of the Liang-Kiang * and the Hu-Kuang † provinces, were severely rated for their dilatoriness in not sending in memorials on reform matters earlier, though two months had elapsed. They were threatened with punishment for remissness, and the Emperor closed with the advice that "the other Viceroys further brush up their ideas and energy, and hasten with the duties laid upon them, and thereby avoid the anger we have in store for lazy and incompetent officials."

As these two men were known as among the most progressive and practical men in the Empire, it may be imagined what vexation was caused the impatient Imperial Reformer by the "other Viceroys." To remove the excuse that the delay was due to the slow progress of the Imperial couriers, the next day another decree informed the officials that in future all edicts would be sent by telegraph, and were to be acted upon immediately. The day following another decree ordered steps for the establishment of Commercial Bureaus throughout the Empire with headquarters at Shanghai, the Yamen to draw up regulations to govern the same.

August 30th witnessed another iconoclastic edict which, after restating the pressing need of reform and economy, proceeded to specify six offices in Peking which were either sinecures, or which had such slight duties that they might better be amalgamated with others; and on the 1st of September the Presidents of the Six Boards were given five days to deliberate as to how the duties of these abrogated offices should be redistributed.

* Including Kiangsi and Chêkiang.

† Including Hunan, Hupei, Kuangsi and Kuangtung.

The decree specified the governorships of Kuangtung Hupeí, and Yünnan, as well as the Director-Generalship of the Yellow River, as posts which could well be transferred to other officers, reducing many overgrown salaries and perquisites. The Tribute Rice Transport by the Grand Canal (one of the most wasteful extravagances even in China) was also abolished, and other offices pertaining to the Salt revenue were cut off with a stroke of the pen. All Viceroys and Governors were enjoined to use the utmost diligence to carry out these instructions in detail, and not to "throw dust in Our eyes, as the punishment We shall mete out for such a heinous offence will be speedy and retributive."

About this time occurred an event unimportant in itself, but momentous in its results. The Emperor felt himself to be isolated from those who would naturally have been his advisers, but who did not sympathize with his acts or his aims. He had the sagacity to perceive that his strength was in the sympathy of those who by the rigid rules of Chinese official etiquette were not allowed to present memorials, and who had no avenue of approach to the Emperor's eye or ear. With a view to broadening the base of his foundations, Kuang Hsü had expressly authorized the various Secretaries of the Boards—many of whom were earnestly interested in reform—to present their suggestions to the Throne by memorials through their respective superiors. It was currently reported at the time that K'ang Yü Wei was now no longer alone in his efforts to bring about reform, but that his followers consisted of more than one half the Hanlins, Censors, and literati of the Capital, as well as a whole host of Board Secretaries, whose views were advanced, and whose earnestness of purpose was such as to defy the opposition of their more conservative superiors.

Among this number was a third class Secretary of the Board of Rites, named Wang Chao, who handed in a memorial in which he is said to have advocated the abolition of the queue and the changing of the Chinese national dress to that of Western lands; the embracing the Christian religion as that of the State with a National Parliament in prospect; and a journey by the Emperor and Empress Dowager to the Mikado, that they might see for themselves the pitiful condition of China, as compared with Japan.

The two Presidents of the venerable Board of Rites were shocked by the audacity of these proposals (and no wonder), and summoned Wang Chao before them to explain himself, ordering him to withdraw the obnoxious document. To their surprise and anger the obstinate man not only refused to withdraw or modify his paper, but insisted that it should be presented just as it was, to the Emperor, it having been prepared in accordance with a published decree. With some misgivings, but presuming on his position as a senior member of the Imperial Clan, Huai T'a Pu (who was also an Assistant Grand Secretary) persuaded his colleagues, the Chinese President of the Board, Hsü Ying Kuei, and the two Senior and two Junior Vice-Presidents, to join in a memorial or denunciation of Wang Chao for his outrageous suggestions.

In an edict issued September 1st the Emperor explains how he came to invite the presentation of such memorials. He went on to observe that the claim that the memorial contained narrow-minded and wild suggestions was an impeachment of his own good sense—as if he had not intelligence to perceive that when the document was submitted to him. He saw through the plot and was resolved to crush it, and immediately turned all

the officers of the Board of Rites over to the Board of Civil Office for the determination of a penalty for their disobedience to his commands, in striving to prevent free speech in the memorials sent up.

It was said at the time, that, lest the Presidents of the Civil Office Board should minimize the offence, the Emperor personally called them before him and warned them that, in case they did so, the same punishment should fall upon them as on their fellows of the Board of Rites. Thus admonished they hastened to decide that the errant officials should be degraded three steps, and be transferred to posts befitting their lowered rank; but His Majesty revised the sentence, and decreed that they be dismissed from the public service.

This was announced in a decree dated September 4th, in which with much dignity and directness the Emperor makes his position clear. For his sturdy independence and his courageous standing up for his rights, Wang Chao was commended, and promoted to such an extent that he might have been appointed a Provincial Judge, which would probably have happened if the Emperor had continued in power. On the 7th of September a few words in the "Peking Gazette" intimated that Li Hung Chang, and Chin Hsin (Manchu) were dismissed from the Tsung Li Yamen.

It is not to be supposed that during all these eventful months the Empress Dowager was an unconcerned spectator of what was going on. It was understood that after the German seizure of Kiaochou the Emperor had threatened to abdicate unless he was allowed real power, which was then granted to him, but with many restrictions, and drawbacks. Five years previous to this, two Vice-Presidents of a Board, who had ventured to send in a memorial urging the more complete assumption of

a larger measure of authority by the Emperor, had been discharged from the public service forever, and the wrath of the Empress Dowager had burned like a furnace.

The story of the plots and counterplots connected with the catastrophe of September is not fully known to outsiders, but enough has become public to make the general course of events plain. The Conservative party had been stunned by the suddenness of the blows which fell right and left, and could not agree upon a common course, but when two Presidents and four Vice-Presidents of a Board were degraded and two such Ministers as Li Hung Chang and Chin Hsin were ejected from the Tsung Li Yamen, it was time for decisive action. It was agreed to present a joint memorial to the Empress pointing out that the only way to preserve the dynasty and the country from entire destruction was for the Empress to return to power, depose the Emperor, and destroy the reformers.

The disgraced officials, together with many others hostile to the new measures, presented themselves at the I Ho Park, where the Empress Dowager amused herself with her flowers and her boats, and clamoured for "justice." The Empress read their document with impassive face, and dismissed them with no intimation as to how she would act. When she did move it was with her usual energy. Calling the Imperial Clansmen Prince Tuan, and Tsai Lien, she asked for their assistance in crushing the Emperor, bribing Prince Tuan with the promise of taking another Emperor from among his sons. These Clansmen were to summon all the Princes, Dukes, Nobles, and Ministers of the Imperial Clan on a certain day, and demand the deposition of the Emperor, while Hsü T'ung, Kang Yi, Chao Shu Ch'iao (all prominent in the events of the year 1900), were to head the Ministers and officials not belonging to the household.

Meanwhile the Emperor was issuing further edicts of reform but he was not ignorant of the devices of his enemies. He told K'ang Yü Wei plainly of his difficulties, and gave him two special edicts, which K'ang subsequently made public. The last especially is full of pathos, the despairing cry of a man struggling with adverse Fate. It contained among others, these sentences, "I have very great sorrow in my heart, which can not be described with pen and ink. You must at once proceed abroad, and devise means without a moment's delay to save me."

The Emperor knew that nothing could be done without the command of the Army, which was largely in the hands of Jung Lu, a crafty and successful schemer who had wormed his way up to the highest posts in the Empire. The Emperor intended to make use of Yuan Shih K'ai to circumvent and destroy Jung Lu, using the troops to guard the Empress Dowager in her I Ho Park until his own position was secure, thus preventing her interference with his operations. Yuan Shih K'ai, later Governor of Shantung, is a Honan man of great natural abilities, who had distinguished himself as Chinese Resident in Korea, and who had later organized and drilled a body of 12,500 troops under German instructors until they were the best and most trustworthy force in the Empire. His predilections were for reform, but like most Chinese he was a constitutional trimmer and at the critical juncture he failed the Emperor, and betrayed his plans to Jung Lu, who was Governor General of Chihli at Tientsin. The latter sped to Peking. There he laid the whole matter before the Empress, who boldly sprung her mine, faced and denounced the Emperor, took from him his seal of State, and virtually made him a prisoner in his Island Palace.

PALACE WHERE EMPEROR KUANG HSÜ WAS IMPRISONED

COURT OF PALACE WHERE EMPEROR WAS IMPRISONED

K'ang Yü Wei and a few others of the patriotic band who had counselled the Emperor, escaped with great difficulty to Tientsin, and boarded a steamer headed south, pursued by the vindictive Empress, who would have torn him in pieces, and who continued for more than a year afterwards to offer large rewards for his capture alive or dead. Though she could not apprehend K'ang Yü Wei, she seized his younger brother K'ang Kuang Jên, and with five other noble and patriotic young men of ability and high promise, he was beheaded September 28th, while protesting that though they might easily be slain, multitudes of others would arise to take their places.

The Emperor was forced to sign the Decree which announced his own abdication, and the Empress Dowager once more took the helm. The " Peking Gazette " thenceforth bristled with her denunciatory decrees repealing everything which had been done, forbidding every economy and reform of every sort, and pursuing all who had had any hand in the recent progressive measures with a revengeful spite which reminded one of the Furies of Greek Tragedy.

It is impossible for us to fathom the thoughts of such a woman, but it is easy to perceive that the whole course of Chinese administration for the following two years was marked by elements not often found even in Chinese history. There was a virulence in her pursuit of her enemies not without illustration in the lives of female sovereigns of other lands and in other times. The fact that she was to have been not only set aside, but bottled up in the courts of a pleasure park, drove her to madness. The more she reflected upon it the fiercer seemed to grow her passion. She seems to have resolved to leave no vestige of the period in which such audacious things had been attempted. Little by little she became

fascinated with the thought of adding the supernatural to the infra-natural (and the unnatural), until she was herself the Head Patroness of the Boxer movement which was to drive out every Foreigner from the Central Empire and leave China for the Chinese.

It is impossible to close this too brief recapitulation of one of the great epochs in Chinese history, without lamenting that there was so little appreciation on the part of Foreign Powers of the nature of the crisis. The Emperor would have gladly turned either to the British or the American Minister for help, but neither was available, and neither had the requisite acquaintance with the circumstances of the time, and might not have been allowed to extend a helping hand had he desired to do so. Rev. Timothy Richard, the indefatigable Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, whose works had perhaps done more than those of any other one man to leaven the inert Chinese lump, strove in vain to get a hearing from the British Minister, and a golden—a priceless—opportunity was thrown away. It became the fashion to speak of this great crisis as a "Manchu family quarrel," with which foreigners had no concern.

So the Empire drifted into the whirlpool without the representatives of the leading nations of the West realizing that there was anything unusual in progress, although the connection was of the same sort as that by which a pestilence follows a war. The dethronement of Kuang Hsü carried within itself the fruitful seeds of the Boxer outbreak. Without the first, the second would have been utterly impossible. In the New China the day in the calendar which corresponds to the 28th of September, 1898, will be observed as a sacred Commemoration

Day for the Six Martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the liberties of their country. At some future time, under happier conditions than now prevail, it will be seen that their death was not in vain.

X

THE GENESIS OF THE BOXER MOVEMENT

IT is well known to those who have paid attention to the structure of Chinese society, that there is a large democratic element running through the entire social fabric from top to bottom. The Chinese are endued with a talent for organization and combination which at times suggests the behaviour of chemical atoms in the items of spontaneity, fixity, and universality of cohesion. While they are satisfied with the system of government under which they live, it is with the system that they are content, and not with its faulty and frequently oppressive operation.

Against undue exactions from officials the Chinese people have always known how to protest in practical forms to which attention must be paid, and in order to effect this they have organizations of long standing, and of recognized authority, which are often the media by which they can manifest the popular feeling. Such are the provincial guilds everywhere to be found, which combine within themselves a great variety of functions, and which frequently focus and express in very forcible and effective fashion such public sentiment as exists.

For what they term "the practice of virtue" the Chinese have a profound respect, and the forms in which this theoretical and practical devotion finds expression are exceedingly numerous. China is honey-combed with secret societies protean in form, diversified in practice,

nebulous in doctrine, with which vast numbers of men, and sometimes women also are in connection. Many of these are traced back to the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (1368), and others are supposed to have had their rise after the Manchus took the throne in 1644. The present Dynasty has consistently forbidden all secret societies alike, well knowing that whatever the professed objects may be it is easy by such means to nurse into being a formidable political rising, which has been frequently done and on a large scale as in the case of the "White Lily" and "Triad" Societies.

By reason of their contraband character, and the fact that they have no printed manuals which may be consulted, while the written copies of their documents are hard to get and frequently full of false characters, an orderly grouping of the apparent phenomena of Chinese secret societies is impossible for foreigner and Chinese as well. Much has been learned, especially by those missionaries in whose flock many members have formerly been leaders in sects and who have no fear and no hesitation in telling all they know. Yet after the expenditure of considerable time and labour in these inquiries, one feels that there is an element of uncertainty permeating every part of the results, due not only to the lack of definite and authentic data, but to the absence of the historic instinct in the minds of the ordinary Chinese to whom we must be indebted for most of our alleged facts.

The outcome of investigations of this sort may be compared to an attempt to follow the history of the atmospheric disturbance which we call a storm. At some point in space there has been a derangement of equilibrium, but where it began it is difficult to say. The clouds themselves are composed of vapour which was somewhere con-

densed, and the process of condensation and evaporation is perpetually going on within view of him who looks at the distant mountain peak; but the collection and dispersion, the union and the separation, of the different masses of vapour can not be traced, nor the precise causes of these effects discriminated. In the description of any Chinese secret society there is much that is cloudy, and it is only the general aspect of which anything can be predicated with confidence. To this it will be well to confine ourselves, eschewing the learned ignorance of those who profess to be able to trace back the roots of the I Ho Ch'üan for more than two thousand years, and to find it all over China under names which are wholly unknown to sober fact.

It should be recollected also that identity of name is by no means proof of identity of origin, especially in China, where the memories and the traditions of the past are so influential.

Some of the official proclamations and pamphlets dealing with the history of the sect in question mention that it existed in northern China during the eighteenth century, under several different reigns, the names of the leaders being given, with particulars of their seizure and decapitation. There was the same state of things during the early years of the present century.

The name cited above as applied to this society literally denotes the "Fists" (Ch'üan) of Righteous (or Public) (I) Harmony (Ho), in apparent allusion to the strength of united force which was to be put forth. As the Chinese phrase "fists and feet" signifies boxing and wrestling," there appeared to be no more suitable term for the adherents of this sect than "Boxers," a designation first used by one or two missionary correspondents of foreign journals in China, and later universally ac-

cepted on account of the difficulty of coining a better one.

Another designation of this organization is the "Great Sword Society," a name of apparently recent origin. In an elaborate metrical proclamation issued early in 1900 by Yuan Shih K'ai, the Governor of Shantung, occurs the remark: "In the summer of the 22nd year of Kuang Hsü (1896) the 'Sword Society' suddenly sprang into existence." The succeeding sentences mention I Chou Fu and Yen Chou Fu in Shantung as its birthplace, meaning the prefectures of which those cities are the centres.

Without inquiring minutely into the rudimentary stages of the Great Sword Society, or undertaking the impracticable task of dissecting out its filimentary connections with other sects, it may suffice to refer to a few manifestations of its activity, quite independent of and antecedent to the outbreak which attracted the attention of the world. It may be well to mention that for all details of the events, the public is wholly indebted to a few Protestant missionaries, who wrote to the foreign journals of Shanghai from a first-hand knowledge, and personal observation and experience.

Towards the close of the year 1898 there was serious trouble in the northern part of the province of Kiangsu. Much of the country is an arid soda-flat with a far larger population than an average year's crops could support, especially since so much of the land is devoted to the cultivation of the poppy. For two seasons there had been partial failure of the harvest, at times due to lack of rain and at others to floods. Official corruption greatly aggravated the evils experienced, and when famine threatened, the whole country began to be infested, as China often is under these conditions, with bands of thieves and open robbers. The yamens were crowded

with cases, justice was slow, and there were bitter complaints against the Roman Catholics for interfering with the due execution of justice. In view of the subsequent proceedings this item is important.

By the middle of January the price of grain was double its usual standard. Incessant raids were made upon the robber bands and so many were caught that the prisons were choked with them. Many of these prisoners were the worst of characters, and were treated with such horrible severity that it was reported that in the Hsü Ch'êng city jail, between February and October of that year, 284 men had died in prison, the numbers afterwards averaging more than two each day. The whole country was more disturbed by far than it had been during the Japanese war.

Contemporaneously with this state of things there occurred a sort of rebellion in northern Anhui, beginning in the city of Wo Yang, where the insurgents were said to be many thousand strong, and had killed some of the officers and troops sent against them. The trouble was reported to have had its origin about some salt (a government monopoly) which had been stolen in transit by hired carters, who in consequence were punished and whose masters were fined. On this the salt-station was said to have been plundered, and under the leadership of a former Taiping outlaw the malcontents kept up the guerrilla warfare.

In the course of a few weeks a wide region of country in the contiguous parts of Anhui, Kiangsu, and Shantung was in a ferment. Troops were even ordered from so distant a city as Tientsin, a journey of almost a month, but they were turned back halfway because the backbone of the rising had been broken. As one of the side incidents, it was mentioned that a man raised a rebellion near

the city of Hsü Chou Fu, who had a flag with a motto calling for the destruction of the Catholics; but before he could join the Anhui forces he was captured and eleven men were decapitated. The famine in northern Kiangsu was so extreme in the spring of 1899, that children were sold at prices all the way from fifty cash to a thousand.

While these disturbances were going on in the regions named, there was a serious local trouble much farther north in a small projection of Shantung into the province of Chihli to the west of the city of Lin Ch'ing. So far as could be gathered from the accounts, the difficulty arose over a piece of ground bought by the Roman Catholics; on it was a temple, which was pulled down and replaced by a chapel. In the course of time, enough friction was developed for an attack to be organized on the chapel, which was destroyed; numerous villages containing Christians were broken up, and a temple was once more erected in the place of the chapel. Eighteen villages were banded together to drive out the Catholics, and for a long time the whole country-side was in alarm and disorder. The concentration of several regiments of provincial troops resulted in a fight in which the number of killed was permanently represented by the letter *x*; and the ferment slowly subsided. At a later period there began to be rumours that the Great Sword Society was organizing encampments in counties far to the east of the scene of the former trouble making quantities of large swords, and using language highly threatening to all foreigners. Some of the Magistrates issued proclamations against the Society, and seized and imprisoned a few leaders; others entirely ignored its existence.

Thus within the compass of a few months there were serious risings both of the outlaws and of the people in

Kiangsu, in Anhui, and in Shantung. At the same time another and threatening outbreak took place in yet another quarter of the province last named. Early in November three missionaries from I Chou Fu, visiting the sub-prefecture of Chü Chou, between eighty and ninety miles to the north-east, suddenly found themselves in the storm centre of a disturbance which had already broken into violence. A German priest had been attacked by a mob in the county of Je Chao, and after being wounded, had been carried away to the mountains. It was ascertained later that the local Magistrate went out in person, and narrowly escaping mob violence himself, succeeded in rescuing the wounded man and taking him back to the city. It was currently reported among the people that the foreigners had been driven out of Peking, and the officials had issued proclamations calling on the people to arise and drive out the foreigners and their converts. In accordance with this supposed advice a school-house belonging to the Presbyterian mission had been burned and robbed, and several Christian families plundered.

With this auspicious beginning the rioters numbering some two hundred men next proceeded to threaten the town at which the missionaries had arrived, hoping to frighten away the foreigners, to secure immunity from prosecution and to exact a cash indemnity in settlement. Two uncomfortable and dangerous days were passed in alternate negotiations and alarms, when, in response to the appeal for help, a military officer appeared from Chü Chou with two men and a horse. The missionaries refused to go, on the ground that until a settlement of the case was effected, they could not leave without exposing the Christians to peril, and themselves to the charge of cowardice.

The trouble continued to spread, bands of armed ruffians swarming in from new quarters, and the villagers arming themselves with mediæval weapons. The arrival of another military officer and twenty soldiers, and on the following day the appearance of the local Magistrate, brought the rioters to terms, and they signed an agreement to restore the stolen property and rebuild the schoolhouse. Armed men were in hiding, and were compelling the people to feed them, declaring that the standard of rebellion had been raised. A party of foreigners was waylaid in the neighbouring county, and it was clearly recognized that the movement was anti-foreign and was due to the recent *coup* at Peking.

From this time on for several months there was a dismal record of lawless violence, for the most part either but slightly restrained or altogether unchecked. The Catholics suffered far more than the Protestants, because they were more numerous and covered a much larger area. Local officials who tried to do their duty were reported to have been insulted by the mob and made to kneel and swear that no foreign money had bribed them. Large walled villages containing provincial troops were besieged by thousands of rioters, but the people believed, or affected to believe, that the soldiers were mercenaries and their guns not loaded. In many instances the Christians were treated with great severity. Their houses were often torn down after everything portable had been taken. An old Christian woman of an inoffensive character was nearly stripped of her clothing, and tied up to a beam to make her surrender the deeds of the family homestead; the alleged reason for these barbarities being that the Christians were no longer Chinese. This was accompanied by the posting of anti-foreign placards.

By the middle of January a large tract of territory be-

tween I Chou Fu and the new German port of Ch'ing Tao was in a condition of virtual rebellion. The popular talk was of fighting the foreigners (Germans), who were to be feared on the water but were helpless when disembarked (a notion, it is to be remarked more than half a century old as applied to the British). Multitudes of Christians had become actual beggars. At the Chinese New Year season there was a lull, and then troops began to appear as if to restore order, in response to pressure from the United States Consul at Chefoo. These valiant "braves" wandered about from one county to another, leisurely devouring the inn-keepers, levying occasional black-mail on meat-shops, and informing the people that they had come for the purpose of arresting the "secondary devils," the appellation of those who followed the foreigner, and a name of which much was to be heard later.

By March, the troubles had reached a still more acute stage, and a party of three Germans going from Ch'ing Tao westward were set upon by a mob, and were in great danger of being murdered outright when in self-defence they fired on their assailants who fled. Within a fortnight a punitive German expedition marched to the village where this outrage had occurred, burned a large part of it to the ground, and then proceeded to occupy the district city, to the great terror and dismay of the Chinese, until the case should be settled. The officer in command of the few Chinese troops in the vicinity was strongly anti-foreign, and when he was reënforced by fifteen hundred more soldiers from the east, it was felt by the people that the long promised extermination of the foreigner was at hand; but as they proceeded to go into camp at a safe distance from the city occupied by the Germans, there were no visible results.

By June the wave had largely spent its force, and by October all the indemnities had been paid. The Protestant claims (which were exceedingly modest in amount) were viséed by a committee of the local gentry, who, to show that they were not to be trifled with, threw out a few hundred odd strings of cash from the total, without however disputing any of the items.

A significant fact was pointed out at the time that, so far as known, none of the real ring-leaders in the riots were arrested, much less punished, but were systematically shielded by the officials or the local gentry. The indemnities were indeed paid by the higher authorities, but the fact that those who caused all this trouble did not in any way suffer for it, was doubtless felt to be a substantial victory, totally at variance with Chinese practice in cases relating to their own government.

The reason for describing at such length the outbreak in the region of which I Chou Fu is the centre is that, more than any other, it embodies all the features which somewhat more than a year later were to make the Boxer rising world-renowned. There was the German aggression at Kiaochou in the immediate neighbourhood, the influence of which was heightened and deepened by the frequent appearance of Germans in the interior. There were the German Roman Catholic Missions which were felt to be the efficient cause in bringing Germans into the Shantung province as a military power. There were Protestant Missions not long established, which, if not politically aggressive, were at all events foreign, and open to the general condemnation of all that comes under that objectionable class.

The effect of the German occupation upon the trade of southern Shantung and upon the facility of getting a living under difficult conditions had not been tested,

but there can be no doubt as to the views of the Chinese upon this point. The reactionary Imperial Decrees which showered down from Peking by every courier inflamed the minds of the people against the supposed source of the unpatriotic "reform" which had been forced upon the Emperor, and the combined product of all these causes political, religious, commercial, industrial, and reformatory, was the I Chou Fu riots.

While these various disturbances were occurring in parts of Shantung widely separated from each other and from the capital, a terrible calamity in the same region had sowed the seeds of misery, discontent, and ruin over a vast area. In the autumn of 1898 it was officially reported that 34 counties had been flooded in whole or in part by the remorseless Yellow River, which one of its Emperors alike historically and prophetically denominated "China's Sorrow." The inundated area was estimated to be at least 2,500 square miles, containing perhaps 1,500 villages. The whole population of the devastated regions was supposed to be between a million and a million and a half. As the country for scores of miles was submerged, the only possible place of safety was the elevated bank or dyke of the Yellow River, which was crowded for a distance of about forty English miles, with wattled booths filled with wretched refugees to the number of probably 165,000. It is easy to see how such a wide-reaching disaster would prepare the way for lawlessness in the not distant future.

While the events which have been narrated were taking place in the provinces to the south-east of Peking, an incident occurred in the immediate neighbourhood of the national Capital, which inflamed angry passions already deeply stirred by the extraordinary occurrences of the summer of 1898.

In the autumn of that year Gen. Tung Fu Hsiang, a man of a mean origin, who had formerly been a rebel against the Government, but had won favour by his success in quelling a dangerous Mohammedan rebellion, arrived at Peking, apparently summoned from a distance for the crisis. It was universally asserted and is doubtless true that at an interview with the Empress Dowager he offered to use his terrible legions from the "wild west" of Kansu province, to drive every foreigner out of China into the sea. It was believed that Her Majesty smiled amiably, but checked his ardour with the conclusive remark that the time had not yet come. These words which amused so many at the time they first heard them, were afterwards remembered with quite different feelings.

Towards the close of October, Mr. Cox, Engineer in charge of the Lu—Han railway, accompanied by Mr. Campbell of the British Legation, and a Major of the British army, went on a trolley car to inspect the bridge at Lu Kou. There they found some thirty of Gen. Tung's soldiers who refused to leave the bridge when asked to do so, and called the inspectors "Foreign Devils." An officer who arrived was invited to order the men to depart, which he did, although protesting that they were not under his command. The party then crossed the bridge and inspected the work, but upon their return they were attacked by the soldiers with stones. One of the engineers, Mr. Norregarde, was severely cut about the face and head, and Mr. Cox was wounded. The former fearing that their lives were in danger fired from a small revolver two shots at the soldiers, who fled. The visiting party at once retreated to Fêng T'ai, and all the engineers were called in from the railway. The soldiers then attacked and looted the house of a foreign engine-driver, and fired a volley into the quarters of the

native employees, killing a coolie and wounding some others.

The British Minister promptly called a meeting of the Diplomatic Corps, who remonstrated against the mobilization of the Kansu troops so near the Capital. The Yamen promised to give attention to the matter. The Empress Dowager, recognizing the important bearings of the affair, sent the Governor of Peking, Hu Yü Fên, to proceed to the Lu Kou Bridge and investigate, which he did, taking Dr. Coltman as a surgeon to examine the wounded men.

The visit to the camp was accomplished not without danger to the committee of inquiry, Governor Hu being rudely, and even insolently treated by three bluff Mohammedan Generals who refused to bring the wounded men before him, on the ground that the matter had already been looked into by a deputy from Prince Ch'ing, and that the men would die if removed. They suggested that the Governor should go himself to the camp where they were, which would have been out of the question. With a compliance which was as insulting as their refusal, the men were at length produced, and being surgically examined one was found to have a small bullet under the pectoral muscle of the chest, while the other was not shot at all, but appeared to have been choked. Either one could have easily walked in, and each would recover speedily. After a disagreeable conversation between the Governor and the Generals, the examining party returned to Peking, glad to escape so well.

The soldiers were taken to the railway hospital at Fêng T'ai, and those who had been guilty of the assault were subsequently punished in the presence of the foreigners attacked. Governor Hu secured the reduction in rank of one of the Generals, but Gen. Tung at once came on from

CITY WALL, PEKING

Pao Ting Fu, had an interview with the Empress Dowager, and was supposed to have threatened serious trouble unless the appointment of the Governor as a member of the Tsung Li Yamen was cancelled. This was accordingly done on the very day when he was to have taken up his duties, and the Chinese Government lost the services of a valuable official familiar with Western ways and affairs, at a time when there was the greatest need of such men. It was understood that Governor Hu had acted throughout in council with the British Minister, and his removal from his new post was therefore a direct rebuff to Great Britain, as well as ominous for all foreign interests, since the punishment of this attack fell mainly upon him, and Gen. Tung was left completely master of the field.

Before the disturbances in the region of I Chou Fu had been settled, there appeared in a remote quarter the familiar symptoms of a new crop of troubles, this time in the province of Chihli, at a market-town called Hsiao Chang, situated about fifty miles to the west and south of the city of Tê Chou on the Grand Canal. For many years there had been a station of the London Mission at that point, with several foreign houses, a chapel, schools, hospital and dispensary, well and widely known throughout that entire part of the country. During the month of May there began to be rumours of a threatened attack upon this Mission station by a band of the I Ho Ch'üan, to guard against whom it became necessary to gather together as many Christians as possible, with a view to repel the threatened assault. For a period of six weeks the village was the scene of a sort of siege, interspersed with parleys with the leaders of the Boxers, and punctuated with numerous telegrams to the British Consul.

As the compound was occupied by several families, including ladies and children, the strain of anxiety was

very great. At last a Deputy from Pao Ting Fu arrived, and settled the matter by punishing the relative of the imbecile magistrate who was the real instigator of the movement, by exacting written guarantees from the local headmen that no repetition of these occurrences should take place, and by paying all the expenses which had been necessitated during the long uncertainty. The fact that during all this excitement the wheat harvest was in progress, an event which for the time eclipses all other human interests, without in the least abating the ardour of the rioters, indicated that this was a movement of a new and an unusual character.

During the early part of the eighth moon there began to be talk of a general rising on the part of the I Ho Ch'üan in that region, as well as in Shantung over the border. They were said to be about to act out the motto of their flag: "Protect the Empire; Exterminate Foreigners."

Threats of this kind had been heard before, but as the mission station of P'ang Chuang, in the district of En Hsien, seemed distinctly threatened, a vigourous appeal was made to the Consul at Tientsin, and telegrams to the Governor of Shantung from the Governor General of Chihli resulted in the collection of small forces from different quarters, sufficient to give check to amateur rioters, especially as they had no grievance of any kind, and no definite object in view.

The first overt act of pillage was in a village in the P'ing Yüan county, sixteen miles east of the Mission headquarters, where the Christians were looted without warning, some of the well-to-do losing heavily, and all alike having little or no grain, clothing, or furniture left them. The incompetent Magistrate of the district, who, though repeatedly warned of the growth of this

dangerous organization, had taken no active steps to stop it, now sent to arrest some of the pillagers. The result was a fight in which the yamen-runners were badly handled. The Governor at length sent cavalry to preserve order, and on the 18th of October a large band of the Boxers had the temerity to attack the provincial troops, presuming on the invulnerability which the magic formulae would confer on the users of them, making them proof against swordcuts, and impervious to bullets.

The troops did not wish to fight, but did not hesitate to do so, because their commander saw that to retreat would be to surrender the whole country-side to anarchy. Accordingly the 'battle' began, and within a short time ninety-eight dead Boxers strewed the plain, and many others who had been wounded fled.

This was probably the first instance in which anything like this number of men had been killed at one time during the incubation of Boxerism, and it might easily have been the last. But the conduct of the Manchu Governor, Yü Hsien, soon showed that he was extremely angry to have had such steps taken without his orders, or perhaps against them. The prefect in whose jurisdiction this fight took place was removed, as well as the district Magistrate, who was replaced by a useless Manchu. The troops were recalled, the commander dismissed from the province, and the head constable who had arrested the rioters was himself sent in chains to the provincial capital, where he was treated as if he were the real culprit, being at one time beaten with two thousand blows, the evident intention being to kill him.

The month of October, 1899, was the turning point in the tide of enthusiasm of the followers of the I Ho Ch'üan. If Yü Hsien had done his duty as the Governor of a great and populous province for the welfare of

which he was responsible, that Society would have been put down by simply following up the crushing defeat which the Boxers had met at the village of Sên Lê Tien. The fact that he repudiated the success which his troops had won, and threw away its results, could only be accounted for upon the supposition that he had good reasons for his conduct, and in China no better reason for any act can be assigned than that it is commanded by the Throne. At that juncture no one could say with certainty that such was the fact, although even before this period the popular impression was strong and definite that the Boxers had "secret orders from above," and that for that reason no weapon formed against them could prosper.

The career of Yü Hsien himself appeared to be a confirmation of this theory. But a few years before he had been merely a prefect of Ts'ao Chou in south-western Shantung, where he was generally believed to have organized the Ta Tao Hui, or Great Sword Society. During the subsequent years his promotion was phenomenally rapid, until in the spring of the very year in which these events took place he had been sent to Shantung as Governor. He had a band of men drilling with large swords in the courts of his yamen every day. What more natural then, than that his people should look upon him as the tutelary divinity of the whole I Ho Ch'üan, as he was supposed to be, and as it later turned out that he actually was?

This organization which has been so often referred to as the "Fists of United Harmony," remains, and perhaps will continue to remain to a large extent a mystery to Occidentals, partly for the lack of adequate data, and even more because of the apparent hopelessness of an apprehension by Westerners of the point of view

of those who belonged to it. It will be convenient to refer at this point to its essential characteristics, since these will be met at every subsequent stage; although it appears impossible to explain them, they may be imperfectly described.

It was the supernatural element in the Boxer claims which gave the sect its powerful hold upon the popular imagination and the popular faith. The divinities worshipped were of the most heterogeneous sort, but many of them were deified heroes of extinct dynasties, whose spirits were supposed to animate the believer to such an extent that he could do the very deeds which had been wrought ages ago,—deeds, the knowledge of which had been everywhere diffused and popularized by the all-pervasive theatrical representations and the equally universal story-teller. At the temples of the various divinities, or in the presence of their pictures, the initiated made their prostrations and invoked the aid of the gods. They most frequently made these prostrations, for some reason apparently unexplained, to the south-east, but this, like other Chinese practices, was not invariable. The mind was probably fixed upon the Being towards whom the worship was directed, and the ultimate object was to become possessed by the "spirit" of that Being. In the process of achieving this end the devotee was seized with what was variously described as spasms, catalepsy, or epilepsy, and often passed into something resembling a state of trance or hypnotism. At certain stages of this experience they seemed to be literally madmen, daring everything and fearing nothing, as was frequently proved when later they came into collision with foreign troops.

When the trance period had been passed through successfully, the worshipper was held to be quite invulnerable, and was ready to submit to crucial tests of his

ability to resist blows of the sword on his bare arm, or the thrust of pikes in his abdomen; bullets or even cannon balls could not harm him, the projectiles being harmlessly dispersed by a wave of his hand, and the smoke dissipated to the right and to the left. Credulity and suspicion struggle for pre-eminence in the Chinese character, so that it was necessary to demonstrate these claims publicly, frequently, and often in the presence of numerous spectators. Thousands and tens of thousands testified that they had themselves witnessed the trial, and that the results were indisputable.

Occasionally one of the Christians ventured into the midst of a dense throng to see for himself, only to be immediately detected, in some cases, by the declaration that there must be a "secondary devil" present, since the charms would not work properly. At a later period it was often at the risk of his life that a Christian was seen by Boxers when at practice. For this reason the accounts of their trials are frequently second-hand and inadequate, but it is certain that there was much fraud and sleight of hand freely intermingled with the performances in the presence of unsophisticated villagers. Dangerous wounds were not uncommon, and in one instance which occurred within a few miles of P'ang Chuang, a man was shot in two by a ball from a cannon near which he stood on trial as a test of his efficacious protection. This awkward accident might be expected to throw a gloom over the subsequent proceedings in that neighbourhood. But it was explained that the "spirit" had not "entirely possessed" the body of this youth, and that he was only premature in submitting to the test. A tax was levied on the members, which gave the poor father two hundred strings of cash for the funeral, and the proceedings went on as before.

In a case in Manchuria, a man who had just reached the stage of unconsciousness fell on his back in a spasm, accidentally struck his head against a stone, and so fractured his skull that he died at once. In another place in the same province a braggart Boxer had seized three Christians of one family, and was about to behead them, when, beginning with a preliminary flourish of his sword, he awkwardly smote his own abdomen so that the intestines protruded, and he found himself unfitted for the office of executioner of the father and two sons, one of whom was acquainted with foreign medicine. Thereupon began a characteristic Chinese dicker, the wounded man offering to release the medically educated prisoner if he would put his enemy to rights again. The practitioner insisted upon freedom for all three prisoners, but finally compromised upon saving his father's life and his own, leaving his brother to his fate!

The fact that one of the characters denoting the Boxer Society signifies "Fists," has led to the oft repeated statement that this organization is one with the numerous sects which practice athletics, and the assertion has been hazarded that every Chinese athlete is *ex officio* a Boxer. Like most such generalizations this is a merely imaginative inference. There has long been a society in Shantung, called the Six Times Sect, which was regarded as a branch of the White Lily Society, and was frequently broken up by the Magistrates. They burned incense on the first and fifteenth of the moon, but their main practices were athletic. Yet in villages where this society flourished it had no connection whatever with the I Ho Ch'üan, either upon its first appearance or at any later period.

The proclamations of the Boxers laid the greatest stress upon the help which they received from

"spirits," which to the number of countless myriads thronged to the help of the faithful. These spirits were said to appear in the form of young lads. The words "Shen Ch'üan"—"Spirits (and) Boxers"—were formerly used in partnership, and the flags had the motto: "Spirits and Fists Mutually Assist." In many important movements a band of the youths marched in front of the Boxer battalions. One of the most graphic accounts of the movements of the I Ho Ch'üan as they entered Peking, speaks of a body of forty such children who marched through the city, and were everywhere received with marks of respect, reverence, and fear. The Christians ran in and reported this as a certain sign that trouble was near at hand. In many cases the practice of the I Ho Ch'üan drill began with children only, which served the double purpose of enabling the promoters of the work to point out that it was but the sport of small boys, and of ascertaining definitely whether the local Magistrates would in any way interfere.

There is a large sect in north China called the Tsai Li, or Ritualists, which abstains from opium, wine and tobacco, and it was remarked in many places that whenever the Boxers appeared in force these Ritualists were soon incorporated into the ranks.

Of the many marvels alleged to be performed by the Boxers in proof of their supernatural powers, such as lifting mill-stones by a thread, and exposing themselves to all sorts of attacks with knives, swords, spears, and cannon without injury to themselves, as well as feats resembling those of jugglers, it is not necessary to speak. It is enough to say that by the Chinese themselves these were almost universally regarded as real and solid evidences of supernatural power, while the Christians had a tendency to attribute them to the direct agency of the

devil. The Chinese soldiers sent to T'ung Chou told the foreigners there that shots fired by the troops at the Boxers in their engagements with them, took no effect upon them, and the story has been often repeated of the man who stood defiantly on the bridge near the British Legation during the Siege, making passes and gestures, and who, although fired at six or seven times by one of the best shots among the marines, seemed to wave the bullets aside to the right or left, and finally walked slowly away.

That the Chinese Government forbids all secret societies has been already mentioned, and if any one of them pretended to military capacity and actually drilled with weapons, its dangerous character must by so much be increased, and the precautions taken against it might be expected to be far more stringent than was ordinarily the case. How was it, then that so formidable a society as that of the I Ho Ch'üan, or the Ta Tao Hui, was allowed to make headway absolutely unopposed, and was even patronized by the officials who might have been expected to cut it down root and branch? In the official account of the Society in the preceding century it was stigmatized as heretical because it pretended to use the power of spirits, and all such pretensions, it was said, were false and treasonable. How then did it happen that they had now become true and patriotic?

Among the many democratic rights inhering in the practical constitution of the Chinese Empire, is that of combining for such common ends as the prevention of the ravages of local robber bands, and the like. During the winter season, especially, one may everywhere see the flags of these village companies with official notifications that they have been appointed by the district Magistrate, and are authorized to apprehend and detain any

offenders. As each village has an organization of this kind, the escape of outlaws becomes theoretically impossible. Such unions are called Lien Chuang Hui, or some similar name, meaning United Village Associations. Some weapons they must of course possess, and it is easy to perceive here the rudiments of a local militia which might be most formidable to any government were the Chinese less peaceable and law-abiding than is the case.

The strong point of the Chinese is their marvellous talent for combination on a small scale. Their weak point is their incapacity for a like combination on a large scale. The Magistrates need the assistance of the people to keep order in times of danger from those who resist the laws, but when the people themselves wish to resist the law the Magistrates are helpless.

Village societies such as have been described, are constantly referred to as T'uan, or Volunteers. Sometimes a day is fixed for the appointment of leaders for such in every township of the county, on which occasion the Magistrate entertains the local gentry and headmen at a feast. Early in the formation of the Boxer companies they began to style themselves, and to be styled by the Magistrates, " I Ho T'uan," or " Public Harmony Volunteers," which implied official sanction. At a later stage the organization was spoken of in the " Peking Gazette " as the " I Ho Yung," or " Public Harmony Braves," and it was treated as a promising branch of the Imperial forces of the Empire.

XI

GATHERING OF THE STORM

FROM the time when the Boxers were killed and scattered by the Shantung troops under Yuan Shih-T'un, as already related, about the middle of October, for a period of about seven months large portions of the provinces of Shantung and Chihli were disquieted by their presence, and not infrequently by their acts of violence. The home of the writer being in the centre of one of the numerous areas of disturbance, furnished perhaps more than any other Protestant Mission station in China a coign of vantage from which to watch the instructive and unique proceedings. The Mission station itself had at times a guard of soldiers, which were anon withdrawn, and then restored, being subsequently removed altogether; the foreigners thus being alternately "guarded, regarded, and disregarded," all at the caprice of it was impossible to say whom.

Small yellow cards were sent to the Christians, bearing the names of local Boxer leaders, inviting the presence of the Christians to meet representatives of the I Ho Ch'üan (or T'uan), frequently with the intimation that if they refused the consequences might be so serious as to involve their lives. Sometimes these notices fixed a day upon which the Christians were to be plundered, whereupon they naturally endeavoured to remove their few goods to other places. But it was often expressly announced that whoever secreted the property of the follow-

ers of foreigners was himself to be treated as a foreigner, so that as a rule, friends, neighbours, and the nearest relatives treated the Christians with less humanity than might have been expected from entire strangers. Illustrations of this might be cited, all differing in details, sufficient to fill a volume.

The Boxers usually came on the day set, often in large bands. Then began a truly Oriental performance in which the Christians performed the kotow to the neighbours, begging them to intercede for them with the Boxers, and get the terms reduced as much as possible,—for in that region it was the fashion to accept ransoms in nearly every case, few dwellings being burned, and no lives taken. As soon as the redemption money was arranged for, generally by the mortgage of the farm or a part of it to some one willing to advance the money, the pillaging began, with the active co-operation of the neighbours who had been the guides of the Boxers in visiting the houses, and in identifying the Christians. Sometimes these guides were themselves the ones who had given information to the Boxers and invited them to that village to pillage, with a view of taking advantage of the opportunity to feather their own nest, while at the same time gratifying any spite which they might have cherished towards any individual of the Christians, and also doing a good stroke of business by buying at a sort of auction the property of their unfortunate townsmen. The sales of personal effects, clothing, bedding, domestic utensils (including the only cooking-kettle and dishes), with every article of every description, were conducted in the street beside the rifled dwelling. A valuable set of mill-stones for grinding the family grain was sometimes knocked off for a few cash, to anyone who could produce the money, no credit being given.

The shame, humiliation, and helpless indignation of the Christians can be faintly imagined, but it was not prudent for them to express in any way their feelings, and in many cases is was not safe for them to be within sight or hearing.

At a later stage of the movement in many places, no Christian could have escaped when the Boxer parties once found him, but this was not true in the special district named in the first, though it became so in the far more perilous sixth moon.

A single instance of the phenomena attending an attack upon a Christian village, where there happened also to be foreign premises for a temporary dwelling, will exhibit the most approved Chinese methods of procedure. The town, which was a large one, had long been threatened, and the cry "the Boxers are coming," had been raised. The teacher combined shrewdness, timidity, fidelity, and agility in unequal proportions. Convinced that this time the warning was genuine, he rushed into his yard, tossed some of the children over a ten-foot adobe wall, hustled the others into the yard of non-Christian neighbours, and, like Bre'r Rabbit, "lay low." One of his daughters, having unbound feet, was seen by a Boxer in the alley, and but for the friendliness of a neighbour would have been caught. The houses of the Christians had been previously reduced to something like a pillage basis by prudent exportation of everything which others could be induced to store for them. All this took time, during which another party was smashing in the doors and windows of the school-house and chapel, and wrecking the house built for the uses of the missionaries. This was speedily looted, some neighbours buying the two foreign dining chairs at one hundred cash each.

After this the Boxers proceeded to plunder the house of a rich man who had nothing to do with the Christians, and this, with the ensuing palavers with "peace-talkers" and the resultant eating and drinking, consumed much of the day. The attack upon the non-Christian rich man was resented by everyone as a gross irregularity and impertinence, but as the Boxer party was large and mounted it was not easy to oppose them. Three of them were, however, caught by the villagers, two of them escaped, but the third was beheaded, either with his own sword or with a straw-cutter. Toward evening, when the trouble was all over, the District Magistrate made his appearance, but refused to let his soldiers pursue the flying Boxers, and merely carried away one prisoner to the yamen.

Foreseeing the certain coming of this attack the missionaries had previously communicated a warning to each of the Magistrates of the counties whence the Boxers came. One was too busy with a birthday celebration even to acknowledge the letter, and the other wrote back sarcastically to say that it would be well for the Western Teachers not to listen to "the silly talk of children and old women," that they might "rest their hearts," and that he would take care of the results—which was done as mentioned!

In an adjacent county innumerable Roman Catholic families were pillaged, and the head of one of their teachers was carried about upon a pole, though such extreme measures were not then common.

By the first of December, the United States Minister was telegraphed to that the rising had covered twenty counties, but the real number was undoubtedly much larger. In response to remonstrances from Peking "imperative orders" were issued by the Tsung Li Yamen to

Yü Hsien to afford protection, and things went on exactly as before. The duplicity of Chinese officials utterances was never more conspicuous. Stringently phrased proclamations were sent out from Chi Nan Fu, but many of them lay in the county yamens and were never posted up at all. It was understood that they were meant for show, and not for use. If posted they were at once torn down by a discerning circle of village literati who knew perfectly well which way the wind was really blowing. It only required the incidental mention of the alleged fact that a proclamation was "fictitious," or that it had been "bought with foreign money" (a significant comment on the official system of the Empire), to bring it into instantaneous contempt. In one important instance a time limit was set beyond which all Boxers were to be relentlessly seized and their property confiscated, but neither when the day arrived nor afterward was anything whatever done.

The provincial troops and the Boxers occupied the same inns and fraternized socially, many of the soldiers being Boxers themselves. Occasionally there was a fight, and some Boxers got killed. Then the commander was perhaps degraded, or at least reprimanded, and took care that it never occurred again.

A little hamlet in the Yü Ch'êng county which had no earth rampart, made a rude abatis of trees, and the population (nearly all Roman Catholics) defended themselves successfully against a great horde of Boxers, the provincial troops about a mile away gazing idly at the unequal contest. When it was over, the commander arrived to inspect, and made his report to Yü Hsien, who in turn made his to Peking, that the aggressive Christians had stolen the ponies of the Boxers while the men were at dinner, and that the fight was to get them back! This

was gravely reported back from the Tsung Li Yamen to the United States Minister, and is probably to this day the official version.

Owing to pressure from the foreign Legations concerned with the wide interests ruined by this state of chaos, Yü Hsien was at last removed, and replaced (Dec. 26th) by Gen. Yuan Shih K'ai, a man of a wholly different stripe. If left to himself he would speedily have exterminated the whole Boxer brood, but being hampered by "confidential instructions" from the Palace, he could do little but issue poetical proclamations, make fine promises, and revile his official subordinates for failure to do their duty.

Yü Hsien was merely ordered to Peking "to receive instructions," and to have the character for "Happiness" (supposed to be written by the hand of the Empress) formally presented to him, ere he was once more launched upon a career of unexampled ruin in Shansi. Before he left Shantung he had three Boxers publicly executed, but the punishment had been so long delayed that it was destitute of any deterring power. For a long time it was firmly believed that the late Governor would be reappointed, and the expectation kept the people from obedience to any orders whatever, except such as it was known that he would have approved. It was to guard against the possibility of such an event, that the P'ang Chuang missionaries filed a formal protest (Jan. 22nd, 1900), against this man, which in view of his subsequent atrocities is of a melancholy interest. It is as follows:

"Charges against officials in connection with the I Ho Ch'üan Rebellion. Against Yü Hsien, Governor of Shantung.

"That, knowing the existence of the I Ho Ch'üan in this province on a large and threatening scale, a society

wholly contrary to the Imperial laws and in previous reigns severely punished, he took no steps to antagonize it.

" That, after a fight had taken place in October between the provincial troops and the Boxers, the said Governor was very angry that about a hundred of the latter had been killed, although told by military officials that the encounter was unavoidable. That he then secured the degradations of the Prefect and of the Hsien Magistrate of P'ing Yuan, not for allowing this rebellion to go unchecked but for trying at last to stop it. That he dismissed the military commander in charge at the time, and employed him no more for this reason. That he released the Boxers taken in that action, requiring no guaranty for good behaviour, to the immediate encouragement of the leaders, who after this fight had been ready to give up the cause.

" That he secretly promoted and fomented the rebellion by refusing to allow the troops to fight, repeatedly sending them into the field with these explicit orders. That his well known attitude was immediately influential in strengthening the rebellion, and was the direct cause of the murder of the late Mr. Brooks, as much as if the Governor had dispatched him with his own hand. That in a secret memorial to the Throne he advocated the employment of the I Ho Ch'üan as an agency for driving foreigners out of the province, thus giving an official sanction to the movement.

" That for all this complicated storm of ruin in which so large a part of Shantung has for so many months been involved, Yü Hsien is directly responsible. We think that the Foreign Powers interested in the good government of this province ought to insist that he be degraded, and that the Edict should be published in the Peking Gazette with the phrase " never to be mentioned for em-

ployment again," and that his own conduct should be assigned as a reason for this step. Also that the said Powers should see to the perpetual enforcement of this punishment as only an adequate guarantee of peace in this province. (To demand the issue of such a Decree and then let it lapse into 'innocuous desuetude' would be much worse than not to demand it.)"

The murder of the Anglican missionary, Mr. Brooks, a peculiarly painful tragedy, took place in the closing hours of the year, immediately after Yü Hsien had resigned the seals of office, and was the natural consequence of his course. Mr. Brooks was caught by a band of Boxers in the Fei Ch'êng district while on his way from T'ai An to P'ing Yin, and after being terribly maltreated was put to a barbarous death.

The Roman Catholic Missions involved in Shantung concerned the German and the Italian Governments; two flourishing American Missions had also been devastated by the violence of the Boxers. The murder of Mr. Brooks brought Great Britain also directly to the front, and for many weeks Consul Campbell remained at Chi Nan Fu securing the punishment of the murderers. This was finally accomplished with the cordial cooperation of Gov. Yuan, but the influence of this event upon the progress of the Boxer movement was imperceptible. All the causes already described as operative in the I Chou Fu disturbances a year and a half previous were still efficient, although the dread of the German railways and the mining operations were probably in some districts more direct stimulants to the popular feeling of hostility than any or all others. It was a significant circumstance that long before any chapels had been destroyed in that region "the people" had risen against the railway in the county of Kao Mi near Kiaochou, driving the

engineers to the coast by way of Chefoo, and effectually stopping the further progress of the work.

All the permanent residents in that portion of Shantung, of whom there were many, were substantially agreed as to the gravity of the crisis, and lost no opportunity to express their views. In a letter to the American Minister written from P'ang Chuang, Jan. 30th, the foregoing facts were mentioned, and it was added that "the Italian Priest who has charge in the region east of Chi Nan Fu says that between 500 and 600 of his families have been looted, ten persons killed, and 5,000 made refugees, and we do not hear that anything has been done, or even demanded. A similar state of wreck is as true of other districts under French and German care, and no action that we can hear of has been taken. If this goes on much longer, railways, mines, commerce, and missions will all be extinguished in one common ruin."

At Hsiao Chang, in Chihli, at P'ang Chuang, Lin Ch'ing Chou, and Chi Nan Fu, in Shantung, there were correspondents of the journals in Shanghai, who wrote frequently and fully, and by this means the general public had the opportunity of knowing the condition of things in the interior. Their utterances were not however confined to mere reports. In more than one instance their views were embodied in leaders in the most widely circulated and influential papers. An editorial in the "North China Daily News" of Dec. 4th (written in P'ang Chuang, Nov. 25th, 1899), entitled "The Coming Conflagration in the North," clearly described the past and probable future course of the Boxer rising. The natural opposition of many Chinese to the Western innovations representing the numerous concessions was pointed out, and it was added, "If the conviction once takes hold of the mass of the Chinese that foreign re-

forms can be strangled by violence, which takes the ostensible form of protecting the Dynasty, while it incidentally exterminates foreigners, there is no part of the Empire which will be habitable for any foreigners, or even a sphere of influence for their future exploitation." The Boxer movement was declared to be "widespread and full of potencies for illimitable mischief." The mistake of allowing Li Ping Hêng, the former Governor of Shantung who was removed at the demand of the Germans, to take a far more important office, was pointed out; also the fact that it was essential for the Germans to unite with the American and the French Governments in requiring from the Chinese authorities that Yü Hsien should alter his fatal policy, and carry out the treaties, or else that another official should be appointed in his place. "Unless this step is taken before it is too late, there is imminent danger that a work of ruin will be wrought which may require decades to repair."

This was followed by another leader written about the middle of January, published in the same journal Feb. 17th, in which the history, aims, and prospects of the I Ho Ch'üan were reviewed under the title: "The Crisis in the North," the concluding paragraph of which was as follows: "It should be made plain to the apprehension of the authorities in Peking that the period of fine-sounding phrases has definitely passed, and that henceforth there must be acts to match. We can not too strongly insist that unless this is done, it is morally certain that the opening season will witness a rising such as foreigners in China have never seen before. The whole country from the Yellow River to the Great Wall and beyond will be in a blaze of insurrection which will not only annihilate every foreign interest in the interior, but will drive every foreigner out of Tientsin and Peking under

conditions which it is not difficult to foresee. There has been more or less danger of such an uprising for a long time. Unless strong and united efforts are now put forth, it is as certain to take place as any future event can well be. Those who are interested in preventing it will act accordingly."

At the conclusion of a news-letter in the same paper, published Feb. 6th, the following words were used: "We see no reason to modify the long-formed, often confirmed, and now more than ever self-evident conclusion, that unless something is soon done to stop this great and dangerous movement, it will drive every foreigner out of the Empire, an end for which it was started, and for which it has been consistently and deliberately fostered."

The columns of the "Peking and Tientsin Times" likewise contained frequent communications on the same subject, and the editorial warnings of that paper were so full of vigour that the leading Consul expressed his serious dissatisfaction with its utterances.

To trace in detail the irregular progress of the anti-foreign movement which was now well under way, would be at once difficult, wearisome and superfluous. Throughout the disaffected regions in Shantung and Chihli the phenomena were everywhere repeated with monotonous similarity, and there was a vigour and a volume in them which required no experienced prophet to interpret. The smouldering fires had long been beneath the hatches. Foreign aggression, and the threat of the dominance of China by foreign syndicates with their railways and their mining schemes, and the alternative "partition of China" always in the offing, had roused the passions of the Manchu rulers to a white heat.

No one at the time suspected all that was beneath

the surface, but there is the strongest reason to suppose that the Imperial Decree issued Jan. 24th, 1900, in the name of the Emperor, was a part of a deeply laid plot. The Emperor was made to say that finding that there was no probability (or even possibility) of his having a child, he had besought the Empress Dowager to select some suitable person to be adopted as heir to the Emperor T'ung Chih (thus passing over the Emperor Kuang Hsü altogether.) She is represented as being graciously pleased, after repeated requests to nominate P'u Chün, the son of Tsai Yi, as the Heir Apparent, and this was officially proclaimed all over the Empire and the world, as an event of supreme interest and importance.

The numerous and not altogether intelligible Decrees issued in connection with this event, left it uncertain what the future position of the Emperor was to be, but it appeared altogether likely that the design was to supplant him entirely as soon as it was certain that it would be safe to do so. Two high officials, called Ch'ung Yi and Hsü T'ung, were appointed Imperial Tutors, the first being the father-in-law of T'ung Chih, who had never had any intercourse with foreigners, and the second a pronounced foreign-hater who would not use the Legation Street entrance to his residence because the road had been metalled and provided with gutters.

The lad of fourteen who was now brought into notice as the presumptive heir to the throne of the Chinese Empire, was a grandson of Prince Tun, the fifth son of the Emperor Tao Kuang. As Kuang Hsü was the son of the Seventh Prince, the new Heir Apparent was the "first cousin once removed" of the reigning Sovereign. His father was Prince Tuan, of whom foreigners knew very little, but who was ascertained to have been a rough and imperfectly educated man of violent man-

ners and ambitious character. It afterwards appeared highly probable that some kind of a compact was entered into between this man and the Empress Dowager, whereby in consideration of his support of her measures his son was to succeed the Emperor. It is of course impossible to prove any such agreement, but the supposition seems to fit the very singular facts perfectly, and may well be assumed to be true until disproved.

Subsequent events made it certain that the Empress Dowager had come to the conclusion that in some way foreigners must be got rid of. The Boxer movement was one of unknown and immeasurable potentialities. If it were not directed against the foreigner, it might be turned against the Manchu Dynasty which had allowed the foreigner to obtain such a foot-hold. Between these alternatives it was not difficult to choose, and the Empress Dowager did not hesitate for a moment. She recalled Yü Hsien, but as already mentioned, it was to patronize him by the presentation of an inscription written by the "Imperial pen," and in a memorial presented by Li Ping Hêng, Yü Hsien was recommended as one of those whose services should be made use of as worthy of all confidence.

Let us now turn to the Legations in Peking to ascertain with what eyes they viewed the rising storm, and what steps they took to meet it. On the 29th of Dec. Sir Claude MacDonald wrote to the Yamen to warn them that if the disorder were not vigourously quelled, international complications were likely to ensue. Upon hearing of the death of Mr. Brooks, a special message of regret from the Throne was sent by one of the Grand Secretaries to the British Minister. The Chinese Minister to Great Britain was also instructed to express the same sentiments to Lord Salisbury.

On the 18th of January, Mr. Conger wrote to the Yamen in regard to the neglect to punish the rioters at various places, reminding them of his previous disregarded warnings, and protesting against the absolute inactivity of Yü Hsien, and the encouragement thus given to the Boxers. "It is also currently circulated in Shantung and elsewhere that these secret Societies, such as the Boxer and Big Knife, actually believe that they have the secret sympathy and endorsement of the Throne, and unhappily many sinologues insist that the Imperial Decree of the 11th inst. in large measure justifies this belief; certainly the Imperial commendation of Gov. Yü Hsien furnishes grounds for such opinions."

The Imperial utterance here referred to was in itself sufficient to convince anyone acquainted with China and its Government that the Throne was not only indisposed to suppress the Societies in question, but approved of them.

Throughout this whole movement it is necessary to call attention to the incessant exhibition of the inherent insincerity of the Chinese in their official utterances. Imperial Edicts would be put forth in form and phrase apparently most uncompromising, but accompanied or followed by the paralyzing "secret instructions" that they were to be taken in a sense directly the opposite of the apparent meaning. This phenomenon is singular to the Occidental only,—to the Oriental it is a mere matter of course. The same holds good of all official proclamations and announcements down to those of the district Magistrate. The people, long practiced in the art, are able as by a kind of instinct to judge whether words mean what they say, and how far it is safe or perhaps advisable to disregard them altogether, while the foreigner, to whom definite threats and promises seem to have a

EDWIN H. CONGER, UNITED STATES MINISTER

SIR CLAUDE MACDONALD, BRITISH MINISTER

specific value, is often totally in the dark. But when such Janus-faced phrases as those of the Edict of January 11th appear, there is no longer room for doubt what is underneath and behind them.

Witness the following extract: "Of late in all the provinces brigandage has daily become more prevalent, and missionary cases have recurred with frequency. Most critics point to seditious societies as the cause, and ask for rigourous suppression and punishment of them. But reflection shows that societies are of different kinds. When worthless vagabonds form themselves into bands and sworn confederacies, and relying on their numbers create disturbances, the law can show absolutely no leniency to them. On the other hand when peaceful and law-abiding people practice their skill in mechanical arts for the preservation of themselves and their families, or when they combine in village communities for the mutual protection of the rural population, this is in accord with the public-spirited principle (enjoined by Mencius) of 'keeping mutual watch and giving mutual help.' Some local authorities, when a case arises, do not regard this distinction, but listening to false and idle rumours regard all alike as seditious societies, and involve all in one indiscriminate slaughter. The result is that, no distinction being made between the good and the evil, men's minds are thrown into fear and doubt. It means not that the people are disorderly, but that the administration is bad."

This Edict had no sooner appeared than it was immediately recognized as not only harmless to the Boxers, but their bulwark and charter.

Knowing the antecedent circumstances, and the conditions at the time when this Imperial utterance was put forth, it would have been quite safe for a person of

thorough acquaintance with China, to forecast the whole progress of the Boxer movement from that document alone, as Agassiz reconstructed a fish from a single bone. This prevision of the results was exactly what the Chinese were able to make with confidence, and, as the events showed, with accuracy also. Had the Ministers in Peking been able to read these luminous signs of the times in the same way, the whole course of events would have been different.

That the Edict was nugatory was too plain to be denied. On the 27th of January the British, American, French, German and Italian Ministers requested that an Imperial Decree should be issued declaring the suppression of the two Societies by name. Almost a whole month having elapsed without the least word from the Yamen on the subject, a further identic note was addressed to them, but still no Decree was published. By this time the disturbances had spread widely, and Boxer drilling had begun in the environs of Peking and Tientsin, and the state of things in the interior, which Mr. Conger (Jan. 27th) had informed the Yamen was "a disgrace to any civilized country," was steadily growing worse.

On the 27th of February Sir Claude again wrote asking for an Imperial Decree ordering by name the complete suppression of both Societies, and declaring that to belong to them or to harbour their members was a criminal offence against the law of China, himself adding that "the consequences of further disorder in the district can not fail to be extremely serious to the Chinese Government."

On the 25th of February the Yamen sent a very unsatisfactory reply to the note of the Foreign Ministers, but on the 1st of March they at last met the demand for

an Imperial Edict, by saying that such had now been issued, and that instructions had been given to Yü Lu, Governor of Chihli, and to the Governor of Shantung to put out proclamations rigidly prohibiting the I Ho Ch'üan. The former had already done so, and a copy of his proclamation was enclosed, which proved to be explicit and pronounced in tone, and might, if put forth at the beginning and followed up, have prevented the further spread of the movement. The Foreign Ministers had arranged for an audience with the Yamen on the 2nd, and came prepared with an identic note, repeating the demand for an Imperial Edict, and requiring that it should be published in the "Peking Gazette." Mr. Conger's letter of that date notified the Yamen that, were this reasonable request refused, he should be obliged to report to his Government their failure to take ordinary precautions against a most pernicious and anti-foreign organization. He repeated that "the consequences of further disorder could not fail to be most serious to the Chinese Government."

At the interview the Yamen Ministers claimed that all had now been done that could be done to suppress the movement, and pointed to the explicit language of the proclamation of Yü Lu. Baron von Ketteler called attention to the omission of the name of the Great Sword Society in the proclamation, and alleged as the reason that the head of it (Yü Hsien) was now in Peking. The Yamen replied that the I Ho Ch'üan and the Great Sword Society had amalgamated and were now the same thing. The suggestion that the former Governor of Shantung was the head of the Great Sword Society was received with undisguised merriment by the Prince and Ministers, but the former admitted that Yü Hsien was to blame for not having suppressed the disturbances.

The demand of the Foreign Ministers that the Imperial Edict should be published in the "Peking Gazette" led to a great deal of correspondence with the Yamen, in which the former were firm and the latter inflexible. Their contention was that the Decree in the "Gazette" was less authoritative than Confidential Instructions, and likewise in the end less widely known; and that as the demand had not been made in the first instance and the Confidential Instructions had already been issued, it was impossible to violate precedent and now insert them in the "Gazette." This difficulty was in the end recognized by the Foreign Ministers as a real one, and the matter was dropped.

On the 6th of March Mr. Conger wrote again to the Yamen in regard to the appointment of Yü Hsien as Governor of Shansi, alleging that much convincing evidence proved conclusively that he was acting in sympathy and collusion with the Boxers, and consequently was an officer totally unfit to govern territory where foreign missionaries or their followers are located or interested. "His conduct is in most flagrant disregard of treaty stipulations and can not be either tolerated or overlooked. Therefore because of all this, and in the interest of safety for the American missionaries and their followers, I herewith file a formal and most emphatic protest against his future appointment to any place where he will have under his control either missionaries or their work." The only difficulty with this judicious "protest" was that it was "filed" and forgotten.

Four days later another identic note was sent to the Yamen, repeating the previous demands, with the suggestion that if the Chinese Government did not comply, the Ministers would report the matter to their Governments, and strongly urge the advisability of "the adoption

of other measures" for the protection of the lives and property of their nationals. The same day the Ministers all telegraphed to their Governments that unless the state of affairs improved materially, it would be well for a few ships of war of each nationality to make a naval demonstration in the North China waters. That this was threatened was well known both to foreigners and to the Chinese, and as it seemed the last strand of a now well worn rope upon which much was suspended, great hopes were entertained that a vigourous show of force would compel the Chinese Government to yield.

The French Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris, told the British Minister to France that if the Ministers of five Powers on the spot considered such a demonstration to be necessary, their Governments could not properly refuse it; but Lord Salisbury thought that it would be "undesirable to resort to naval action until other means were exhausted." The United States Government ordered one ship of war to Taku, the Italian Minister had two ships placed at his disposal, the German Minister was given the Kiaochou squadron, and at the same time the British Minister asked for two ships, which were at once granted.

From the 10th of March there was another period of three weeks during which the Yamen made no reply to a further identic note sent to them. The correspondence was then reopened by the Yamen, which was still engaged in skirmishing with the Foreign Ministers as to the question of the publication of an Edict in the "Peking Gazette," as already mentioned. On the 14th of April a supplementary memorial appeared in the "Peking Gazette" from Yü Lu, Governor of Chihli, reporting the dispatch of Gen. Mei Tung Yi, commanding the right wing of the Huai army, and Chang Lien Fên, an expectant Taotai,

to lead the forces, and in conjunction with the local officials to suppress and disperse the rioters, and to station troops for the protection of places where there were churches. He also stated (what was true) that Gen. Mei had upon repeated occasions destroyed Boxer headquarters by fire, and arrested ringleaders and handed them over to the local officials to be punished. He might also have added that for many months both these military officials had displayed unceasing activity, and had actually fought many "battles," killing a great number of Boxers in different counties of the Chihli province.

With regard to the turning over of prisoners by the military to the civil officials it was constantly found that the latter, being not infrequently in open or in secret sympathy with the Boxers, either released the prisoners at once, or kept them in a confinement which was merely nominal.

In his report to the Throne, the Governor was careful not to add that the total outcome of all this activity on the part of the General was as nearly as possible nothing at all, and that owing to official and popular goodwill toward the Boxer movement it was so far from being suppressed, that it was every day becoming more threatening. The Imperial Rescript to this memorial commanded that in every case the utmost vigilance be shown in the work of suppression, and that not the slightest remissness be permitted—unmeaning set phrases only to be interpreted by later acts.

On the 17th of April another of the characteristic Imperial Edicts appeared in the "Gazette" speaking favourably of the organization of trained bands in village communities for self-preservation and protection, but adding that there was reason to fear that the good and the bad being indiscriminately associated in this way there might

be found some who would make a pretext of oppressing converts, which was accordingly forbidden. The provincial authorities were to see that every man should attend to his own business and live at peace with his fellow-men, so that the reiterated and solemn injunction of the Throne might not be disregarded.

Sir Claude MacDonald, however, inferred from the tone of the communication from the Yamen that "the Chinese Government was prepared to meet our wishes as far as possible," yet at the close of his dispatch regretted to have to conclude by stating that the continued activity of the Boxer Society in drilling and enlisting recruits in the neighbourhood of Peking and Tientsin indicated that the danger from this source was not yet past; "but at the same time I think I am justified in expressing the opinion that the Central Government is at last beginning to give evidence of a genuine desire to suppress this anti-Christian organization." On the same date the Minister telegraphed Lord Salisbury that the "Hermione" and "Brisk," which had been ordered to Taku, had now returned to duty.

XII

SPREAD OF THE RISING

FROM the little cloud in the far south-eastern horizon the Boxer movement had now spread northward with singular and unexampled rapidity under the immediate observation of the representatives of all the Great Powers, who had contented themselves with sending more or less urgent notes to the Yamen, and with threatening a naval demonstration which never took place, and which if it had taken place would probably have been utterly powerless to quell the dangerous rising of millions of Chinese in the interior. For about a month after the middle of April there seemed to be a lull in the dispatches between the Ministers and the Yamen, broken only by the detailed and monotonous reports from the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries over a wide stretch of country, that inflammatory placards were being everywhere posted, and that actual attacks upon Christian communities and their chapels were in progress.

In order to understand the swiftness with which the Boxer bacillus spread, it is necessary to take account of the fact that there were special emissaries sent in every direction who put up the handbills, and circulated them broadcast with unstinted liberality. It is impossible to say whence these productions originally emanated, but it is noteworthy that the phraseology of some of those met with in and about Shanghai and of those found in Peking and the regions beyond was substantially identical. In

widely distant regions it was known that the first that was heard of the I Ho Ch'üan was from men who had come from Shantung, as was the case, for example, in central Shansi; while in other regions the origin of those who propagated the faith and practices was quite unknown.

The whole basis of this intricate and irrational cult was an amalgam of Buddhist and Taoist superstitions, formed with the intention of stirring the people to a fanatical fury against foreigners, in the belief that by means of supernatural agencies rightly employed success would be immediate and certain. Perhaps no description of the Boxer processes would be so good as a few extracts from one of the countless manuals prepared and distributed with a view to enlightening neophytes as to the true method of proceeding.

BOXER INCANTATIONS

The Incantation says,—"The Instructions from (the God) Mi T'o to his disciples—proclaiming upon every mountain by the Ancient Teachers—reverently inviting (the Gods) from the central southern mountain, from the central eight caves—your disciple—(give name)—studying the Boxer art, to preserve China and destroy Foreigners. The Iron Lo Han, if cut with knife, or chopped with axe, there will be no trace. Cannon cannot injure, water cannot drown. If I urgently invite the gods they will quickly come, if I tardily invite them they will tardily come—from their seats in every mountain cave. Ancient Teachers, Venerable Mother, do quickly as I command (in this incantation.)

(2) The Divine Boxer Incantation says,—Imperial Heaven, Revered Ancients, The Cave of the Five Bud-

dhas A Mi T'o Fo, upper eight genii, middle eight, lower eight, A Mi T'o Fo, come and instruct me, A Mi T'o Fo Honourable Ruler of Heaven, come and instruct me, A Mi T'o Fo—Holy Mother of the three Genii, T'ang Sêng, Sha Sêng, Pa Chieh, Wu K'ung. I do not know which reverend Teacher will visit my humble place.

MANNER OF EXERCISE

"With the two hands fix the magic fingers, the feet upon a cross (marked on the ground), facing east, read the above charm three times, knock the head three times, again read the above thrice in succession, in one hundred days will practice to perfection. Note. If you do not desist from meat, do not bathe, and truly preserve a respectful heart while reading the above, it will be ineffectual—this is exceedingly important. This charm if not placed in a clean spot can not be preserved. Do not be careless in the matter."

ANOTHER EXERCISE

"Face to the south-east, with left hand perform the Three Mountain charm, with the right perform the charm of the Twisted Dragon, mark on ground two crosses, tread with two feet—read the following charm once, follow with one knocking of head—at least read seven times, at most ten times. The gods will then take possession of your body." The Charm says,—"First I invite the Great Scholar from the Southern Sea (a god), the Buddha from the western Heaven, also I invite the honourable Teacher Huang to come quickly and teach me, also the upper eight gods, the Great Buddha from the western Heaven, the middle eight gods, the five pure

Buddhas, the three lower eight gods, the A Mi T'o Buddha, I also invite the reverend early Teacher Huang, come quickly and teach me.

Write above the door, Red Heaven Precious Sword —on back door write oOo (a charm.)"

(3) A Charm to protect against Guns and Cannons. "In the northern region open the mouth of the Cave, from the cave invite the iron gods to come forth—the Temple of the iron gods, the seat of the iron gods, iron men, iron clothes, iron protection, resisting iron cannon that they cannot approach. Heaven and Earth establish me, sun and moon shine upon me. Quickly come at my command. (in the charm.)"

ANOTHER EXERCISE

"The Holy men Kuang P'ing and Chou T'sang worshipped on the Northern Throne. Bow once and knock the head to the south-east—read the following once—again three times and bow and knock head, shut the eyes, stand on two feet together—use charm with thumb, saying 'I invite southern A Mi T'o Fo'—do as before—use charm with first finger, say—'strike Heaven, the heaven gate opens, strike Earth, the earth gate approaches. I desire to learn of the Divine Boxers, and invite the genii Teacher to come'—follow with the Yuan Wu charm, one bow to the south and read once, one step one bow, one reading, another step three bows, one reading, another step, shut eyes two feet stand together."

One or two specimens of Boxer posters will likewise give an insight into the intellectual and emotional condition of the people who were so greatly moved by these agencies. The first one to be quoted was perhaps as widely diffused as any other, and the prescription with

which it closes was, with variations, appended to others of a like description but differing in form:

"SACRED EDICT, ISSUED BY THE LORD OF WEALTH AND HAPPINESS.

"The Catholic and Protestant religions being insolent to the gods, and extinguishing sanctity, rendering no obedience to Buddha, and enraging Heaven and Earth, the rain-clouds no longer visit us; but eight million Spirit Soldiers will descend from Heaven and sweep the Empire clean of all foreigners. Then will the gentle showers once more water our lands; and when the tread of soldiers and the clash of steel are heard heralding woes to all our people, then the Buddhist Patriotic League of Boxers will be able to protect the Empire and to bring peace to all its people.

"Hasten, then, to spread this doctrine far and wide, for if you gain one adherent to the faith your own person will be absolved from all future misfortunes. If you gain five adherents your whole family will be absolved from all evils, and if you gain ten adherents your whole village will be absolved from all calamities. Those who gain no adherents to the cause shall be decapitated, for until all foreigners have been exterminated the rain can never visit us. Those who have been so unfortunate as to have drunk water from wells poisoned by foreigners should at once make use of the following Divine Prescription, the ingredients of which are to be decocted and swallowed, when the poisoned patient will recover:

"Dried black plums..... half an ounce.
Solanum dulcamara ..... half an ounce.
Liquorice root ..... half an ounce."

In the following placard the range of complaints and grievances is much wider than in the preceding, and gives a better idea of the unrest of the minds of the people:

"The Chinese Empire has been celebrated for its sacred teaching. It explained heavenly truth and human duties, and its civilizing influence spread as an ornament over rivers and mountains.

"But in an unaccountable manner all this has been changed. For the past five or six generations bad officials have been in office, bureaus have been opened for the sale of offices, and only those who had money to pay for it have been allowed to hold positions in the Government. The graduation of scholars has become useless, and members of the College of Literature and scholars of the third degree are in obscurity at home. An official position can only be obtained as the price of silver. The Emperor covets the riches of his Ministers, these again extort from the lower ranks of the mandarinate and the lower mandarins in turn (by the necessity of their position) must extort from the people. The whole populace is sunk in wretchedness, and all the officials are spoilers of their food.

"The condition of the yamens is unspeakable. In every market and in every guild nothing can be done unless money is spent. The officials must be bribed. All sorts of exactions are made. These officials are full of schemes none of which are in accordance with the three principles. Having forfeited their heaven-derived disposition they are unreasonable and unregulated. They are all alike—ill-gotten wealth is their one object. Right has disappeared from the world. There is nothing but squabbling and extortion on all hands, and lawsuits are unnumbered. In the yamens it is of no avail to have a clear case, unless you bribe you will lose the day. There is no one to whom

the aggrieved may appeal; the simple multitudes are killed with oppression and their cry goes up to heaven itself and is heard of God. Though spiritual beings and sages were sent down to teach right principles, to issue good books, and to instruct the multitude, few, alas! heeded. Who is there that understands? The evil go on their course rejoicing, while the spiritual powers are conscious that their teaching has been vain.

" Now in anger the heavenly Powers are sending down multitudes of spirits to earth to make inquiry of all, both high and low. The Emperor himself, the chief offender, has had his succession cut off and is childless. The whole Court both civil and military, is in an unspeakable condition. They indulge blindly in mere amusement, and disregard the cry of the widow, repenting of nothing, and learning nothing good.

" Greater calamities still have overtaken the nation. Foreign devils come with their teaching, and converts to Christianity, Roman Catholic and Protestant, have become numerous. These (churches) are without human relations, but being most cunning have attracted all the greedy and covetous as converts, and to an unlimited degree they have practiced oppression, until every good official has been corrupted, and, covetous of foreign wealth, has become their servant. So telegraphs have been established, foreign rifles and guns have been manufactured, and machine-shops have been a delight to their evil nature. Locomotives, balloons, electric lamps, the foreign devils think excellent. Though these foreigners ride in sedans unbefitting their rank, China yet regards them as barbarians of whom God disapproved, and He is sending down spirits and genii for their destruction.

" The first of these powers which has already descended is the Light of the Red Lamp, and the Volunteer Asso-

ciated Fists who will have a fight with the devils. They will burn down the foreign buildings and restore the temples. Foreign goods of every variety they will destroy. They will extirpate the evil demons, and establish right teaching,—the honour of the spirits and the sages: they will cause their sacred teaching to flourish.

"The purpose of Heaven is fixed; a clean sweep is to be made. Within three years all will be accomplished. The bad will not escape the net, and the goodness of God will be seen. The secrets of Heaven are not to be lightly disclosed, but the days to come are not unknown—at least the Yu Miao years (1902-1903). The song of the little ones ends here in a promise of happiness to men, the joy of escape from rapine. This last word is the summary of all. Scholars and gentlemen must by no means esteem this a light and idle curse, and so disregard its warning."

While the gods and the eight million spirits were thus issuing their ultimatum, the officials on their part were supposed to be putting out proclamations embodying, in accordance with their orders from the Governor, the substance of the Imperial Edicts. But it was soon known that over wide areas of country the proclamations were either never put up at all, or were immediately torn down by the indignant people.

In response to complaints of this state of things, the Yamen informed Mr. Conger that they had addressed the Superintendent of Northern Trade requesting a thorough investigation, the local authorities being instructed to act in concert with the military, and to take action in good earnest that peace and quiet might prevail.

The same Minister further remonstrated that the Boxers were arming, all about T'ung Chou, where there was a College of the American Board, that thousands of

sailors were continually arriving on the grain-boats, that several tens of thousands of students from twenty-four departments would soon be coming, so that great care must everywhere be exercised in regard to the chapels.

One of the missionaries in T'ung Chou showed the Taotai anonymous Boxer placards and pointed out to that official (the highest in the city) that the Boxers were drilling in the north-west corner, but the Chou Magistrate declared that he knew nothing about it. The Taotai petitioned the Governor for a detachment of cavalry to do patrol duty, but when they arrived it was at once evident that they were in full sympathy with the Boxers; they themselves incited the people to make an attack. The Taotai was the only official in that city who was not playing into the hands of the Boxers, and his position was one of great difficulty and soon became perilous in the extreme.

During the weary months in which this rising had been in progress of development as we have seen, repeated and urgent representations had been made to the Foreign Ministers in Peking by French, Italian, and German missionaries on behalf of the Roman Catholic, and by British and American missionaries for the Protestant Christians, both in Chihli and in Shantung. The receipt of these communications was suitably acknowledged, representations were made to the Chinese Government with more or less promptness, energy, and insistence by the various Ministers.

The Tsung Li Yamen received these complaints with courteous surprise, doubted the reality of such a serious state of things, asked for "proofs," and promised to instruct the Governor General of Chihli and the Governor of Shantung to look into the matter. If the real condition of matters complained of existed, they were

to ascertain where the blame rested, to report to Peking, and to issue proclamations forbidding these acts in future.

The Ministers repeated the substance of the replies to the complainants, who renewed the complaints, having by this time more serious outrages to report. In due course the Ministers received the fresh appeals, recognized the existence of even graver difficulties than before, wrote " a strong despatch " to the Yamen pointing out the new evils in aggravated forms, and the utter emptiness of the previous replies of the Yamen Ministers. This was responded to by the Yamen in an appropriate manner, with fresh promises of strict inquiry into the reality of the new ills alleged, nothing whatever being anywhere done toward punishing any more than an occasional Boxer, and no effective steps being taken to prevent the organization from spreading.

The vital and incontrovertible fact, long since pointed out by others, that the rising was encouraged by the Chinese Government itself, was beginning to be distinctly perceived even by foreign officials, whose opportunities of observation were restricted.

On the 2nd of May Mr. Carles, the British Consul at Tientsin wrote to Sir Claude MacDonald that the District Magistrate at T'ung An Hsien, about midway between Tientsin and Peking, who had done his utmost to repress the Boxers, offering rewards for the arrest of the leaders and for information regarding their lodges, had received instructions, reported to come from the Empress Dowager, which led to the withdrawal of the offer of rewards and to an immediate hostility of the people, of so marked a character that the resident missionary at once withdrew his family.

A single chip is sufficient to show which way the current runs, and this ominous incident might have been ex-

pected to make it plain that what had been found true in distant Shantung was no less so in the immediate vicinity of the Imperial Capital.

The proofs of this state of things rapidly accumulated. On the 19th of May, Monseigneur Favier, Vicar Apostolic of the Roman Catholic Mission in Peking, wrote to the French Minister that the situation was daily becoming more serious and threatening; that in the prefecture of Pao Ting Fu more than seventy Christians had been massacred, several villages had been looted and burned, while others were abandoned, and that over 2,000 Christians were fugitives without food, clothes, or shelter. There were several hundred men, women, and children in Peking as refugees, and within a week thousands were expected.

The Minister was assured that the writer was making no random statements, that the religious persecution was only a blind, and that the main object was to exterminate the Europeans. That accomplices of the Boxers were awaiting them in Peking, that the attack was to begin on the churches, after which the Legation would be assaulted; and the day for this had been fixed, as was known to the whole town except to the foreigners. The striking resemblance between the present conditions and those prevailing during the Tientsin massacre were pointed out, and M. Pichon was reminded that, at that time also, the missionaries had begged in vain for assistance until it was too late.

The day before this the British Minister had heard of the destruction of a chapel of the London Mission 40 miles from Peking, and the murder of a native preacher, so that when the Doyen of the Diplomatic body called a meeting to consider the communication of Mgr. Favier, the seriousness of the situation was felt, and it was once

more agreed to address the Tsung Li Yamen demanding specific measures for the suppression of the Boxers. The German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, thought that merely to summon Legation Guards was not enough, and that, in case a satisfactory reply to the note was not received, war-ships should be assembled at Shan Hai Kuan so that if necessary parties could be landed for the march to the protection of foreigners in Peking.

It was the solemn warning of Mgr. Favier which at last roused the French Minister to the full sense of the gravity of the situation; and through him the Diplomatic Body as a whole was awakened to a realisation of what was taking place. Yet at the close of this very dispatch Sir Claude mentions that the Pekingese were quiet and civil toward foreigners and that nothing had come to his knowledge to confirm the gloomy predictions of Mgr. Favier. He concludes his dispatch with this remarkable expression of opinion: "I am convinced that a few days' heavy rain-fall, to terminate the long continued drought which has helped largely to excite unrest in the country districts, would do more to restore tranquillity than any measures which either the Chinese Government or foreign Government could take."

Sir Claude was entirely right if he meant that no power but that of Heaven could now avail to stop the spread of the great rising which like a tidal wave had already overspread the larger portion of two provinces, and was now inundating the Capital of the Chinese Empire.

Foreseeing the coming storm the Roman Catholics had fortified many of their chapels, cathedrals, and villages, and in some cases successfully resisted all the force which could be brought against them. In a brief time the whole region between Pao Ting Fu and Peking, a dis-

tance of about a hundred miles, was filled with Boxer camps, and furious organized attacks upon all Christian communities at once began. A Roman Catholic congregation was burned alive in its place of worship. Christians were attacked in their homes, or wherever they could be found, cut down at sight, and their bodies thrown into wells and streams. There were supposed to be thirty thousand Boxers gathered in and about the single city of Cho Chou, practicing their magic rites by day and by night eating the farmers of the district into poverty and ruin. They had even captured the Magistrate and, taking possession of his yamen, were compelling him to stamp their proclamations and orders with his official seal.

On May 28 a band of men from Peking and its neighbourhood, as well as T'ung Chou, made an attack upon the railway station of Fêng T'ai, a few miles southwest of Peking. This place was the junction of the Tientsin-Peking railway with the Lu—Han line from Peking to Pao Ting Fu, which was to be extended to Hankow on the Yangtze. A small foreign guard of twenty men would probably have sufficed to save the place from destruction at that time, and by this means many serious consequences might have been avoided, or postponed, which was of only less importance. Yet such was the apathy prevailing at the time, that when this was proposed at one of the Legations it was merely replied that it was "an international question," and the matter was dropped; but the results soon became an international question also.

As it was, the rioters, meeting with no opposition, burned the station as far as they were able, destroyed the machine shop as far as they were able, and stripped the engines of every scrap of brass and of everything else which could be removed. The track was torn up, the sleepers burned or stolen, the telegraph poles cut down,

and communication between Peking and the rest of the world severed. It is worthy of notice that in a movement which has often ignorantly been ascribed merely to hostility to Christian missions, the first acts to awaken the attention of Peking were the wholesale wrecking of railways and telegraph lines which, as an Imperial edict soon after issued reminded the misguided "patriots," were constructed and owned by the Chinese Government.

The headquarters of the Lu—Han railway had been fixed at the market town of Ch'ang Hsin Tien, about sixteen miles from Peking. Here were many foreign houses built by the railway administration for the occupancy of a large colony of Belgian and other engineers and their families, who at once found themselves imprisoned, and unable to escape. Word was brought to Peking of their condition on the 29th, and the following day M. Chamot (a Swiss), the enterprising proprietor of the Hotel de Pékin, and his courageous American wife, with five others, started off on horseback to effect a rescue. Avoiding Fêng T'ai they reached Ch'ang Hsien Tien in safety. Impressing carts and animals for the journey of the refugees at the Lu Kuo bridge, they brought in the whole party, thirteen men, nine women and seven children, safely to Peking late the same evening, weary, bedraggled, and in a condition of extreme faintness of body and mind. Those engineers who were at Fêng T'ai when the attack took place ran their trains to Tientsin, but without foreign guards it was impossible to keep the line open.

The outbreak at Fêng T'ai is of especial importance as marking the initial point of the second stage in the development of the I Ho Ch'üan. Thus far they had merely destroyed the houses of converts, pillaged and exacted fines, and killed native Christians, acts which

have been by no means rare in the history of foreign relations with China. Henceforth the proceedings attained to the dignity of a rising of the people, abetted by the Government, against the Government itself.

Such was the state of things at the end of May when the storm broke. Members of families of the British and American Legations were even enjoying themselves at their summer houses in the western hills twelve miles from Peking at the time, and had to be recalled in hot haste. Then, and for weeks afterward, the fatal assumption seemed to have chloroformed the entire Peking community that "Nothing *can* happen here in Peking." A series of terrible catastrophes was required to dispel this inexplicable delusion.

The diplomatic corps, after repeated meetings, decided to telegraph for guards to come from the warships already assembled at Taku, to protect the Legations, a step which should have been taken a month earlier. The Tsung Li Yamen of course objected to the insult of bringing foreign troops to the Chinese capital and promised ample protection with Chinese forces. The Ministers refused to consider the question of the guards an open one. The guards must come, if not with the consent of the Chinese Government, then without it. The Yamen had to consult Prince Ch'ing, Prince Ch'ing had an audience with the Empress Dowager, and the consent was given rather than risk a collision with the world combined.

Even now there were many in the various Legations who were opposed to bringing up a large force, since a smaller one must have the same moral effect with less irritation to the Chinese Government. As it was very uncertain, however, how the Government would act, there was good reason still to fear that the arrival of

340 marines, which took place after many delays late on the evening of May 31, would be a signal for a general attack upon foreigners, and indiscriminate pillage and massacre.

The American, Russian, Japanese, Italian, French and British contingents marched from the railway station outside the south city (the railway having been temporarily repaired and the city gates having been left open for their admittance) to their Legations with fixed bayonets through the densest crowds which some of them had ever seen. The Chinese made no demonstration of any kind. On Sunday, June 3d, fifty German marines and thirty-five Austrian sailors arrived with a machine-gun, by the mid-day train, the Governor General at Tientsin having done his best to prevent the entraining of the soldiers, only yielding when assured that otherwise they would seize the engines and cars and go without his permission. The preliminary crisis was past, and the lives of the foreigners in Peking were for the moment once more secure. The total number of foreign troops actually introduced, including seven Cossack permanent legation guards, was only 18 officers and 389 men. It should not have been less than a thousand, with which number it would have been possible to make a defense with some prospect of success.

The Chinese Government had promised to repair the Tientsin Railway, and for a few days it was in a passable condition. The Lu—Han line, however, was hopelessly wrecked from the first. Almost every station was destroyed, and for the greater part of the distance the Boxers were so numerous that all communication with the south by that route was permanently cut off. The whole country south and southwest of Peking was filled with wild reports of pillage, arson and the murder of

Christians, each day's narrative being more fearsome than the ones that went before.

A large party of Belgian and other engineers finding their lives no longer safe at Pao Ting Fu, endeavoured to escape with an escort to Tientsin by boat. They were betrayed and attacked on the river, lost their boat and went astray, dividing into two companies, one of which tried to return, but was lost to knowledge for many months, when it appeared that some of them had made their way to the city of Chêng Ting Fu, where together with a Bishop, several priests and nuns, they had defended themselves. The main body went overland to Tientsin, suffering great hardships on the route, being at last brought into that settlement by a large rescue party who went out to look for them.

On June 7, as threats of impending troubles became more ominous, three of the gentlemen determined to make one more effort to get help from the Taotai, or intendant of the T'ung Chou circuit, the highest official in the city. This gentleman had been formerly connected with the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, and was well known to be particularly friendly toward foreigners and pleased with their ways, as an instance of which he had his reception-room fitted with platform rocking chairs and his office with a roll-top desk, both rare articles in a Chinese dwelling. These known predilections made him exceedingly unpopular at this time and greatly added to his personal danger, as he was sufficiently well aware.

Sending every one of his numerous retainers out of his reception room, the Taotai poured forth his grievous lamentations at the terrible pass to which things had now come and frankly declared that he was himself helpless

to do anything whatever. He had but a small force of ill-armed men, not one of them to be depended upon, and all of them needed in many places at once. He had already sent to Tientsin for soldiers who had arrived the day before, but both he and his visitors were certain that these soldiers would be sure to take the part of the Boxers, and would be of no service whatever as guards, either to property or to persons. His evident distress left not the smallest doubt of his sincerity, and of his view of the desperate nature of the conditions.

When the gentlemen left the Taotai's yamen they were confronted with a howling mass of turbulent people who would have been only too glad to bring on a riot at once. By cautious tact a collision was avoided, but it was at once perceived that an immediate retreat to Peking was imperative. A telegram was sent to inform the American Minister of the dangerous situation, and to ask for a guard of ten marines to escort the party to the capital. The Minister, however, sent no guard, recommending the employment of Chinese soldiers instead. But these were felt to be untrustworthy and wholly inadmissible even were they available, which was far from certain, and the inevitable delay might have been fatal to the security sought. No conveyances were to be had in T'ung Chou on any terms, as they had long since been engaged to carry away those natives who foresaw clearly the coming storm and dared not face it. The Rev. W. S. Ament of Peking under these urgent circumstances kindly engaged sixteen Peking carts, and himself accompanied them from Peking to T'ung Chou alone, arriving late in the evening. The disturbed state of the country rendered this an act of conspicuous courage.

While the party was preparing to leave T'ung Chou,

word was brought in that the day before a Roman Catholic village had been looted and burned and several people killed. Immediately after, the same fate overtook the two out-stations belonging to T'ung Chou for which great anxiety had been felt. One preacher with all his family was killed, and another escaped by the breadth of a hair. In these two villages perhaps thirty-five or forty Christians were reported as burned to death or cut in pieces, the church being almost annihilated.

Soon after 3 o'clock the next morning a party of twenty-four Americans—six men, eleven women and seven children—with a considerable number of native Christians who dared remain no longer, left the ground of the North China College outside the city. They formed a long procession of carts, huge T'ung Chou wheelbarrows, and heavily laden donkeys. Most of the Americans and several of the Chinese were armed with rifles or revolvers, or both.

Two of these gentlemen living at T'ung Chou had up to the last moment clung to the idea of remaining behind with a small band of trusty Chinese, hoping by a show of force to keep off the Boxers, who had already been visibly overawed by the display from the tower of one of the houses of the American flag, which was supposed to indicate the presence of a concealed army. A telescope mounted upon the same commanding position was thought by the Chinese to be a swivel gun of such extraordinary power that if it were once discharged it would lay flat a full half of the city of T'ung Chou! But the moral certainty that the Tientsin soldiers would side with the Boxers, as nearly all Chinese troops did, showed the rashness of attempting the impossible. This change of plan at the last moment prevented an adequate preparation for a sudden departure, and the result was a

particularly exiguous supply of clothing on the part of some of the missionary refugees.

Although a few hours later such a journey would have been impossible, at the time nothing unusual was detected in the demeanour of the Chinese who were seen while on the way to Peking.

It was afterwards ascertained that Shên Taotai of T'ung Chou, who was exceedingly anxious that no mishap should befall this large party on its unprotected journey, sent some of his own retainers armed but in ordinary costume, to watch the procession at a distance, until it entered the gate of the southern city, with orders that if there was any attack it was to be resisted. The Taotai himself later escaped to Shanghai by the skin of his teeth, but with the loss of all his possessions. His marked friendliness to the helpless foreigners within his jurisdiction richly entitle him to some special recognition of his merits.

At 8 P. M. on Friday, June 8, the party reached Peking, most of them finding welcome in the spacious and hospitable compound of the American Methodist Mission in the Filial Piety Alley (Hsiao Shun-Hu T'ung), situated a few hundred yards east of the great street leading north from the Ha Ta gate, and almost immediately under the city wall.

A meeting of Americans had been previously called at the Methodist compound on the afternoon of that day to deliberate upon the proper steps to be taken in the present crisis.

It was decided that all Americans not already in the Legation should remove to the Methodist compound at once for mutual defence; that the Minister should be asked for a guard of twenty marines; that in view of the presence of members of the London Mission and

many of their converts the British Minister be requested to furnish ten marines, and that a strong telegram be sent to the President of the United States, representing the threatening aspect of affairs. The following message was accordingly despatched that afternoon:

"President McKinley, Washington: Boxers destroy chapels, massacre hundreds Christians, threaten exterminate all foreigners. T'ung Chou abandoned; Pao Ting Fu, Tsun Hua extreme danger. Chinese troops useless. Attack Peking, Tientsin daily threatened. Railways destroyed, telegraphs cut. Chinese Government paralyzed. Imperial edicts double-faced; favour Boxers. Universal peril. Unless situation promptly relieved, thirty Americans convened regard outlook practically hopeless."

To show how little effect six months of the most earnest representations had produced, it is worth while to call attention to the fact that the telegram just quoted was substantially the same as the one which was sent by two American missionaries from P'ang Chuang in northwestern Shantung to Minister Conger, dated Dec. 2, 1899, as follows:

"Boxer rebellion twenty counties Shantung, Chihli, rapidly spreading. Pillage, arson, murders increasing; avowed object kill Christians, exterminate foreigners. Unless four Legations combine pressure, P'ang Chuang, Lin Ch'ing, Chi Nan Fu, Americans consider situation almost hopeless."

It was suggested by some that a message so plain spoken as this would not be forwarded over the Imperial telegraph lines, but this was not the case. Only the word "double-faced" was charged as two words, affording a fresh illustration that the Chinese are willing enough to be considered "double-faced" if only foreigners will pay the extra bill.

The check by which payment was made for this telegram was never presented for payment, and the dispatch seems never to have been received, though it may have been sent. Other telegrams, however, were duly sent and received.

XIII

THE BOXERS AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

BY the end of May the great Boxer rising had reached the very gates of the Capital, and was hourly gathering momentum. It was now a question of the utmost importance what was the real relation between its leaders and the Chinese Government. The conviction which had gained ground among countless Chinese and among many well-informed foreigners that the Society had been at least tacitly approved by the highest authorities in the Empire, was altogether scouted by many who were in a position to entitle their opinions to weight. The gradual and inconspicuous manner in which the Boxer cult was introduced led them to the conclusion that it was literally merely "child's play," and of no significance.

From the Chinese point of view the foreigners were seizing the Empire piecemeal, and abolishing the most ancient and most cherished Chinese rights, and if a period were not speedily put to their encroachments, there would be nothing left to save from their clutches.

From the foreign point of view the Chinese, who had always been obstructive and unreasonable, were now more so than ever. There was a general feeling that strong measures were absolutely required if the long standing rights of the treaties were not to be abrogated altogether, and if the recent agreements were not to be completely nullified.

When each side felt that the other was violating its agreements, friction was unavoidable and an explosion was not improbable. It is a favourite Chinese tenet that after a certain period of civic tranquillity there must ensue a season of relative chaos. For some reason not perceptible to Occidental intellects, a year in which there is an intercalary eighth moon is expected to be a year of social disorder, especially if its characters in the cycle are the ones known as "Kêng-tzu." Each of these conditions held good in the year 1900. Throughout a large part of the Eighteen Provinces there was a general expectation that by the eighth moon there would be serious disturbances.

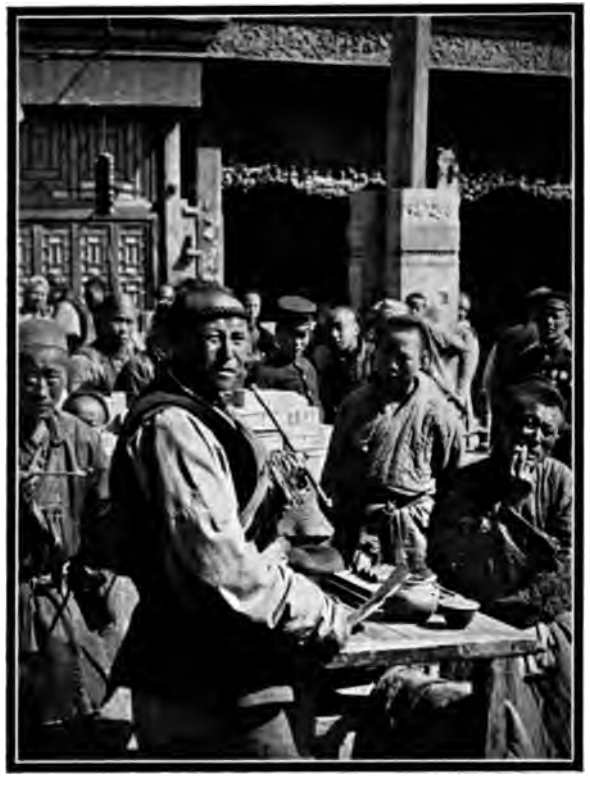
Many who had been anticipating such an event at that time were taken by surprise because the catastrophe occurred so many months earlier. Why this was the case no one was able to explain, and it is likely that there was no other reason than that the natural progress of events developed the crisis prematurely. There were special causes for a popular rising during the spring. The drought was great and practically universal. For the first time since the great famine in 1878 no winter wheat to speak of had been planted in any part of northern China. Under the most favorable circumstances the spring rains are almost invariably insufficient, but that year they were almost wholly lacking. The ground was baked so hard that no crops could be put in, and at such times the idle and restless population are ready for any mischief.

Ever since the peace between China and Japan, the prestige of Great Britain in China had been steadily declining until it had reached the lowest ebb in history. Within the past few years the multiplication of native newspapers had brought superficial intelligence of the

outside world to the ears of every well informed Chinese along the sea-board, and at Peking. While ignorant of the causes of current events and totally free from anything like a philosophy of history, the Chinese are remarkably shrewd judges in an empirical way of what the different Powers probably would or would not do. They had noted, probably with surprise, that a handful of South African farmers whose total numbers were far below that of a fifth class Chinese city, had contrived to withstand the utmost power of Great Britain for many months, and that there were no signs of a conclusion of the strife. The capable British Consul deputed to settle the punishment of the murderers of Mr. Brooks in Shantung, thought it worth his while to let Gov. Yuan Shih K'ai know incidentally that Gen. Cronje had surrendered with several thousand of his troops, but if the Governor bestowed any thought at all upon the matter it must have occurred to him how little effect that event had upon the progress of the war as a whole. The fact that the hands of Great Britain were tied for so long a time at one of the most critical periods of recent years, has perhaps modified the whole course of affairs in the Far West.

The relation between the Manchus and the Chinese in the government of the Chinese Empire, it is well again to remind ourselves, is one of the most interesting phenomena in the history of the "black-haired race." The Manchus have long ago lost the virtues by which they gained the Empire, and there were ever increasing evidences that they had also lost the right by which alone they claimed to rule—"the Decree of Heaven." They had, within recent years, in an ever increasing degree violated the explicit understanding by which they were allowed the undisputed rule of China, that in the practical

MANCHU TYPE



STREET SCENE, PEKING, BOXER TYPES

administration Chinese and Manchus should be upon an equal footing. When the Boxer rising came to a head most of the important positions in China were held by Manchus, and it was currently believed that it was intended ere long to give them all the rest, for thus alone absolute devotion to the Dynasty could be secured.

One of the prominent occasions of the fall of the preceding Ming Dynasty was the disreputable and remediless evils connected with the government of the country through the influence of eunuchs. One of the earlier emperors of the Tartar Dynasty is said to have undertaken to prevent the repetition of these scandals by the erection of an indestructible warning against them, in the shape of an inscription cast in iron. But during the ascendency of the Empress Dowager the favouritism of the eunuchs has been worse than perhaps ever before in this Dynasty, and there was one of them (often termed "the sham eunuch"), the constant companion of Her Majesty, who was popularly supposed to be one of the wealthiest individuals in Peking. He was reputed to have an estate valued at thirty-eight million taels of silver, obtained through bribes and presents. It was supposed that many of the gold-shops, banks, pawn-broking establishments, and the like, in Peking, were owned by him. Just as the Boxer rising reached the vicinity of the Capital this man was reported to have died, whereupon there was great rejoicing. But the rumour turned out to be false. The only interest pertaining to the matter at present is the reappearance a year later of this same individual in connection with the exiled Court at Hsi An Fu, where he was said to have exercised the same baleful influence as at Peking. According to Chinese who may be supposed to have a right to speak, this Li Lien Ying was one of those most influential in

leading the Empress Dowager to feel that the time had fully come for a strong effort to expel all foreigners from the Empire.

No intelligent observer of Chinese affairs professes to be able to discriminate fact from fiction with certainty in current reports of what goes on within the impenetrable Imperial Palace. The inner history of most Chinese affairs has never been disclosed, and now that nearly or quite all of the records have been mercifully destroyed, they never will be. But after an explosion like that to which the Boxer movement led, it was inevitable that there should be numerous revelations which in the ordinary course of events would never have taken place.

On the 10th of May, 1900, there appeared in the leading foreign journal of China, the "North China Daily News," a long undated letter from its "native correspondent" in Peking, who was a member of the famous Tsêng family of Hunan, and was at the time a Secretary in one of the Boards. While on his way south during the troubles he disappeared, and it is supposed that like many others in similar circumstances, he was killed.

A few paragraphs from this letter are worth preserving, as a forecast of the future by one who had special opportunities of knowing what was going on beneath the smooth exterior: "I now come to a subject which should be seriously considered by the foreign readers of your paper, for it is a question which concerns all of them. This is the avowed enmity of the Conservatives against all foreigners, except perhaps the Russians. I write in all seriousness and sincerity to inform you that there is a great secret scheme, having for its aim to crush all foreigners in China, and wrest back the territories 'leased' to them. The chief leaders of this

movement are the Empress Dowager, Prince Ch'ing, Prince Tuan (the Heir Apparent's father), Kang I, Chao Shu Ch'iao, and Li Ping Hêng.

"The forces to be used to achieve this end are all Manchu, viz.—the Peking Field Force (50,000 men) under Prince Ch'ing; the Hushêng Corps, or "Glorified Tigers" (10,000 strong) under Prince Tuan; and the various Banner Corps of the Imperial Guards (aggregating 12,000 men) under Kang Yi and others.

"These 72,000 men are to form the nucleus of the Army of Avengers, whilst the Boxers are to be counted upon as auxiliaries to the great fight that is more imminent than foreigners in Peking or elsewhere dream.

"All Chinese of the upper class know this, and those who count foreigners among their friends have warned them, but have to my own knowledge been rather laughed at for their pains than thanked for feeling anxiety on their Western friends' behalf. May I be more fortunate in warning you! The Foreign Ministers, I know, have protested to the Tsung Li Yamen about the increase of the Boxer organizations in the northern provinces, but dust has as usual, been thrown into these foreigners' eyes. Not only have the Boxers increased tenfold in numbers since the beginning of the year, in Shantung and Chihli, but even the Imperial prefecture of Shun T'ien (Peking) and the three north-eastern provinces (Manchuria) are now filled with the ramifications of this dangerous society.

"Two instances serve to show the high favour in which the Boxers stand in the eyes of the powers that be in Peking. In the first place, a Censor named Wang recently had an audience of the Empress Dowager when, the subject of the Boxers having come up, the Empress said to the Censor: 'You are a native of this

province and so ought to know. What do you think of the Boxers in Chihli; do you think that when the time comes for action they will really join the troops in fighting the foreign devils?' 'I am certain of it, Your Majesty. Moreover the tenets taught to the members of the Society are: Protect to the death the Heavenly Dynasty, and death to devils. For your servant's own part, so deeply do I believe in the destiny of the Society to crush the "devils," that young and old of your servant's family are now practicing the incantations of the Boxers, every one of us having joined the Society to Protect the Heavenly Dynasty, and drive the devils into the sea. Had I the power given me I would willingly lead the Boxers in the van of the avenging army when the time comes, and before that time do all I can to assist in organizing and arming them.'

"The Empress nodded her head in approval, and after ruminating in her mind, cried, 'Aye! It is a grand Society! But I am afraid that, having no experienced men at their head just now, these Boxers will act rashly and get the Government into trouble with these "foreign devils," before everything is ready.' Then after another pause, 'That's it. These Boxers must have some responsible men in Chihli and Shantung to guide their conduct,' and the audience then ended. The next morning a decree was issued naming this Censor Wang, Governor of Peking. That is to say, a sixth grade official, by a stroke of the pen, was raised to a fourth grade Metropolitan post—a sub-prefect to a provisional judgeship! Wang will therefore have the opportunity he wishes, namely, to organize, advise, and arm his friends the Boxers.

"The second instance I give, to show the light in which foreigners are held just now, is that since the Tientsin massacre of 1870, a ban has been placed by the officials—

all except the most bigoted Conservatives—upon the term 'Yang kuei tze' (foreign devil) and men have been bamboozled for using it, when found out by the officials. But here we find that not only is this term embodied in the war-cry of the Boxers, but has received official sanction from the lips of the Empress Dowager herself."

So far as appears, this truly remarkable revelation and prophecy attracted practically no attention from any of those who might have been expected to be struck by its statements, until its predictions took the shape of history—when it was vividly recalled to mind. Comparing the sentence in which the Empress is said to have praised the Boxer Society with the phrase of the Edict of January 11th already cited, in which it was pointed out that "Societies are of different kinds," it is easy to interpret the former already sufficiently perspicuous expression; and the passage in which the need of leaders is mentioned by the Empress is to be explained by an Edict which appeared in the "Peking Gazette," of June 24th, in which it is said that "Members of our people comprised in the I Ho Ch'uan are scattered in all parts of the region round the metropolis and Tientsin; and it is right and proper that they should have superintendents placed over them. We appoint Prince Chuang and the Assistant Grand Secretary Kang I, to be in general command . . . All the members of the I Ho T'uan are exerting their utmost energies, and the Imperial Family must not fall behind in harbouring revenge against our enemies. It is our confident hope that the desires of each and all may be successfully consummated, and it is of the utmost importance that no lack of energy be shown."

With the distinct recognition and patronage which the Boxers now began to receive in unmistakable ways,

it is not strange that their bearing rapidly altered. Their altars represented a degree of sacredness to which China is ordinarily a stranger. The highest officials were not infrequently compelled to descend from their sedan-chairs and to prostrate themselves before the symbols of the Boxer cult.

It was not long before they had exhibited to the inmates of the Palace itself their supernatural powers, and it is the practically universal testimony of those in a position to know, that with that superstition which is so uniformly found among all grades of Chinese and Manchus, the Empress Dowager herself was fully persuaded of their divine mission, as is indeed manifest in the Decree last quoted. In the latter part of May and early in June there were many Imperial Edicts which had a bearing upon the growing movement, but most of them were intended only to deceive the easily hoodwinked foreigner, warned unlawful gatherings to disperse, denounced the bad practices of the bad, and related with mock gravity the punishment of a coolie or two who had made a disturbance, while ignoring the growing list of murders of Chinese Christians.

One of these Edicts ran as follows: "The Christians have now been propagating their religion in China for many years, and the missionaries have no other object than that of exhorting people to virtuous conduct. Heretofore the Christians have not utilized the church as a means of causing trouble, so that the people and the Christians have lived together in amity, each following his own doctrine. Now, however, the churches and the Christians have become very numerous throughout the Empire, so that discontented and reckless characters have found their way into their ranks without the missionaries being able in every case to discriminate between the good

and the bad. Such bad characters have become Christians merely as an excuse to insult and oppress the rest of the population, and to tyrrannize over the districts in which they dwelt, although, of course, the missionaries have in no way signified their approval of such proceedings.

"As to the 'Patriotic Harmony Society of Boxers,' they have recently been practicing military drill for the preservation of their bodies and the protection of their homes, and in no wise making a disturbance or trouble.

"Now we have repeatedly issued Edicts instructing the officials to repress firmly all disturbances without regard to whether the people were members of the Society or not, the only question being whether they are bad characters; they are to be dealt with most rigourously if they create disturbances. Converts and Boxers alike are one and all the children of the Throne, and we regard them with an equal love which in no way discriminates between the Boxer and the Christian."

The fact that all the rioting, arson, and murder with which an entire year had been filled was ignored and denied was more significant than anything which was expressed.

The same Decree announced the appointment of two officials to report upon the Boxer movement, one of whom was Chao Shu Ch'iao, who was notoriously hostile to foreigners, while the other was even worse. These men went to Cho Chou, where they affiliated with the Boxers, and from that time the movement was apparently upon an Imperial basis and steadily growing in power and in ambition.

In the early days of June word reached Peking of the brutal murder at Yung Ch'ing Hsien, nearly midway between Tientsin and Peking, of two Anglican mis-

sionaries, named Robinson and Norman, with the connivance of the local Magistrate. The British Minister at once had an interview with the Yamen on this grave matter, but the tone of the Ministers was listless, indifferent, and helpless, and Sir Claude complained to Lord Salisbury that while the Chinese Secretary of Legation was interpreting what the British Minister said, one of the four Chinese members of the Yamen fell fast asleep, upon which Sir Claude left abruptly, appointing an interview with Prince Ch'ing the next day.

Prince Ch'ing assured Sir Claude that the Throne took a very serious view of the danger, and laid great stress upon the fact that General Nieh was moving up from Tientsin with 5,000 troops to guard the railway. He affected to be much surprised when told that there was good reason to believe that General Nieh's orders were not to fire upon the Boxers. This view of the case was soon after confirmed by the information that in one engagement he had fired upon them and upon reporting to Yü Lu for specific instructions had been ordered to disperse them without firing upon them—according to the familiar plan in operation ever since the Boxers had begun their work. It was not surprising to learn immediately afterward that General Nieh and his troops had been withdrawn to their camp at Lu T'ai, east of Tientsin, leaving the railway at the mercy of the Boxers. One of the Yamen Ministers who accompanied Prince Ch'ing plainly told Sir Claude that in the absence of representative institutions the Chinese Government could not afford to disregard such an indication of the people's will as was afforded by the remarkable popularity of the Boxer movement.

When read in the light of such an admission, the long and minute "Regulations for the Maintenance of Order

SUMMER PALACE, PEKING

in Peking" forwarded to the Legations, in one instance embracing six Articles and in another ten, the Proclamation of the Governor of Peking against the Boxer Societies, and the daily Edicts already mentioned, only served to make more evident the innate treachery of the Chinese Government, and the imminent danger to all foreigners in the Capital.

Under these exigent circumstances Sir Claude suggested to the Diplomatic Corps that it was advisable to demand an audience of the Empress Dowager and the Emperor, a proposition which caused great perturbation among the Yamen Ministers. Before a specific authorization for this demand could be received from the Home Governments, the futility even of this last measure was only too evident.

The Empress Dowager had been at the Summer Palace west of Peking for perhaps a month, amusing herself in this great crisis with her boats and her theatricals. She and the Emperor returned to Peking on the morning of the 9th of June, and it was hoped that their presence in the city might quiet the popular commotion, although it appeared quite as likely to lead to renewed violence. On the morning of that day a band of Boxers sallied out from a neighbouring temple, and set fire to the grand-stand of the race-course, three miles west of Peking, a native Christian who had been captured by the Boxers being roasted alive in the fire. Later in the day a party of students of the British Legation, riding outside the walls of the city in the same direction, were attacked by some score of these bandits armed with swords and spears, and only escaped by firing upon their assailants.

Following this, in the evening, Sir Claude received news from a Chinese source which appeared to be

trustworthy, that the Empress Dowager had in an audience openly expressed her desire to rid the Capital of the presence of foreigners, and that Tung Fu Hsiang's troops, who had been removed from the vicinity of the railway station when the foreign guards were about to arrive, in order to avoid a collision, were now only awaiting the word to begin a general attack. Upon this an urgent telegram was dispatched to the British Senior Naval Officer informing him that the situation was hourly becoming more serious, and that troops should be landed and all arrangements at once made for an immediate advance upon Peking. The other Ministers took a similar view of the situation and acted accordingly. It was at this time that the members of the Customs staff abandoned their remote quarters in the eastern part of the city, and concentrated at the house of the Inspector General, while the property of numerous foreigners driven to take refuge within the Legation sphere of influence was formally handed over to the Chinese authorities.

The Boxers were now openly practising on the official drill-grounds within the city, and, what was much more significant, opposite the British Legation in the Yamen of Mongolian Superintendency; also in the palaces of Duke Lan, and of his brother Prince Tuan, father of the Heir Apparent, who by an important Edict (June 10th), had been appointed to the Presidency of the Tsung Li Yamen. Three other Manchu officials about whom little was known were also appointed to that body. Prince Tuan paid no calls at the Legations after his appointment, and remained personally unknown to all the foreign Ministers.

Two large Missions, that of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, and that of the American Board,

were each holding their annual meetings at this juncture, the former in Peking, the latter in T'ung Chou, twelve miles further east, at the head of navigation of the Peiho. Some members of the Methodist Mission had already left Peking by the very last train which got through to Tientsin, but others, together with a considerable number of visitors to the Capital, were too late and found themselves permanent prisoners. The American Board Mission dispersed on June 5th, some leaving T'ung Chou for Peking, while a party of three—two gentlemen and a lady physician—pressed on to Kalgan on the Great Wall. They arrived safely in four days without incident, but only to find their dwellings liable to be destroyed at any moment, their lives in imminent peril, themselves surrounded by a hooting mob, and their only resource to take temporary refuge in a Yamen. Thence by slow stages they toilfully made their way across Mongolia to Kiakhta, and ultimately to Europe. The river route from T'ung Chou to Tientsin being unsafe, the other members of the mission were obliged to remain where they were, receiving, however, daily bulletins of the condition of things in Peking.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SEMI-SIEGE IN PEKING

THE twelve days between June 8 and 20 may be regarded as an interlude in the attack upon foreigners in Peking. By Saturday, the 9th, practically all of them except those in the Northern Roman Catholic Cathedral had removed within the quadrangle under the protection of foreign guards, that quadrangle being somewhat extended to the east so as to take in the numerous courts of the Methodist Mission premises.

The military authorities, who had only fifty marines to guard the Legation, were naturally reluctant to detach twenty of them for the protection of a place more than half a mile distant from the Legation, and one that in case of an attack was not easily defensible. But for the seventy Americans who were crowding every corner of the Methodist dwellings there would have been in the Legation itself no accommodation whatever, not to speak of the six or seven hundred of the Chinese Christians whom the missionaries refused to abandon. The Minister therefore overruled the judgment of the officers, and insisted upon furnishing the guards according to previous promise, and they took up their new duties upon the 9th under the charge of Captain Hall. The British Minister, instead of sending ten marines as expected, loaned in their place ten Martini rifles, which did good service.

With the national instinct for organization, the Americans promptly met and chose committees into whose hands were confided the coöperation with the military in defensive operations, listing of Chinese for purposes of labour and military drill, and many other matters of general concern. The whole premises were patrolled by civilians and by Chinese, the more important posts being reserved for the marines, all of whom had been seasoned by long experience in the Philippines and were fully equal to anything required of them. The long outer walls of the compound had watchmen whose view commanded the entire surrounding region, and in a short time the lines were greatly extended so as to take in the grounds of the Peking University, a few minutes' walk to the northwest. There were sentinels always on duty on the galvanized iron roof of the great church, glowing hot all day and slippery at night with the dew or rain. Every man was armed with some weapon, and each had his appointed position in time of danger. Special individuals were charged with the care of the Chinese in time of alarm, to see that all were duly notified and to prevent a panic.

Within the rectangle commanded by the Methodist compound lived fifteen or twenty non-Christian families, some of them friendly, others hostile. Under orders from the military officers and from the Ministers, these were told to remove elsewhere, the alleys were barricaded at both ends and a strict watch was set, especially to guard against fire. First and second lines of defence were marked out, barbed wire fences erected behind walls which it was thought might possibly be scaled. All the flag tiles in all the yards were used in making cross barricades, deep trenches being dug behind. The foreign stores were ransacked for anything which might

aid in the defence, numbers of excellent foreign lanterns and shovels being secured, the lack of which was afterward severely felt in the British Legation.

By the time these preparations had been carried into execution it was seen that the premises could not be rushed by any attack from Boxers, however sudden or violent. To guard against a continued assault by large numbers the large brick church had been fitted up as a citadel, its doors reinforced by frames with galvanized iron plates, the windows barricaded and loopholed, a large stock of provisions and water brought in and every precaution taken to enable the people to withstand a siege of several days.

As it was not improbable that the dwelling houses might be fired in some attack, numbers of trunks of all sizes were removed to the church, where they filled up the vestibules, lined the aisles and encumbered the platform. The Sunday speakers at that period were surrounded by mattresses arranged for the night, by cans of French butter, tins of raspberry jelly, bottles of gherkins and numerous baby cradles, while on the floor below stood a row of huge water jars filled to the brim, and the "grand trunk" line ran everywhere. Each night all the school girls quietly filed across the road from the girls' school buildings and slept on the floor of the church, to be more secure in case of attack, superintended and accompanied by their foreign teachers. On several different occasions alarms were given of an impending attack, and upon each one all the girls and such of the women as could be accommodated were brought over in good order and without any panic, returning when the alarm was ascertained to have been groundless. All this organization, fortification, preparation and practice under alarm, although not so under-

stood at the time, was a valuable drill for the greater perils which were yet to come.

It was known that the relief expedition which had been telegraphed for had left Tientsin on June 10th. Many Europeans went to the railway station at Ma Chia P'u to welcome the troops, and were obliged to return amid the jeers of the crowds of Chinese who knew that all communication was stopped. On Monday, June 11th, Mr. Sugiyama, Chancellor of the Japanese Legation, went in unarmed and alone through the Yung Ting gate of the southern city to visit the railway station, hoping to meet the expected troops. He was seized by the Kansu cavalry of Tung Fu Hsiang, dragged from his cart, and after numerous insults was speared or chopped to death; his heart was cut out and, as was reported, was sent to General Tung Fu Hsiang, while his head was fixed to a pole. The mutilated body was partly covered with earth where it lay, and although the second Secretary of the Japanese Legation went to the Yamen on the subject, no effort was made to recover it. Two days after, a Decree in the "Peking Gazette" threw the blame of the act upon the lawless characters who abound, although it was notoriously done by the troops themselves who were expected also to slaughter all other foreigners as soon as the signal should be given.

The following day it was reported that the Imperial Post Office at T'ung Chou had been wrecked and the telegraph poles cut down. The line to Tientsin had been destroyed some days before, the last slender link connecting Peking with the rest of the world being the single wire to Kalgan, which was severed on the 17th, thus beginning the isolation which continued for many weary weeks.

It was ascertained from refugees arrived from T'ung

Chou that the mission premises both in the city and outside were looted by the regular Chinese troops who had been summoned to protect them, promptly followed by the hungry mob always ready for such a task. All the eight dwelling houses, the North China College, the chapels, schools and property of every description were utterly destroyed within three days after the premises were left, scarcely one brick remaining. The Taotai was said to be a virtual prisoner of the Boxers, who compelled him, as they had forced the Magistrate of Cho Chou, to affix his seal to their proclamations and orders. The other officials had openly espoused the Boxer cause.

June 12

On the 12th, Hsu Ching Ch'êng and three other Yamen Ministers called at the British Legation. One of them, Chao Shu Ch'iao had just returned from the Cho Chou, as already mentioned, where he had been sent to quell the Boxers, which he had accomplished by conceding everything which they demanded. He now reported that he considered them to be amenable to reason. Another of the Ministers recently appointed assured the British Minister that the Boxer movement was now at an end, that it was idle to bring foreign troops to Peking, and that the Minister ought to rely on that efficient protection which China had never failed to afford.

A Boxer passing down Legation street in the full uniform of red cloth around the head, a red girdle, and red shoes, was seized and beaten by Baron von Ketteler himself, while his companion effected his escape. The next day the Governor of the city, Ch'ung Li, accompanied by two high officials called at the Legation to secure his release, but failed to do so.

June 13

June 14

The next day word was received from the Seymour-McCalla expedition expected from Tientsin, saying that their progress was slow and toilful. The day fol-

lowing letters showed that they had reached Lang Fang, more than half way to Peking, but were in great difficulties for want of water and supplies, with the railway in front hopelessly destroyed.

On the afternoon of June 13th, word was brought that the Methodist chapel on the great street but a few hundred yards away was being pulled down by a Boxer mob, the sounds of demolition being uproarious and continous. A squad of marines was sent to the mouth of the alley and charged the rioters without firing upon them, thus for the moment checking their proceedings. The plan generally adopted by the Boxers was to break down a portion of the woodwork, pour over it several quarts of kerosene brought for the purpose, and then light it, no one being allowed to make any effort to arrest the flames.

During all that night the heavens were aglow with the lurid glare of burning buildings in every part of the city, and in the course of the next two or three days it became known that with the exception of those defended by foreign troops every place in Pekin belonging to or occupied by foreigners was destroyed. Among the rest were two large Roman Catholic cathedrals, the eastern and southern. The former was destroyed first, one aged priest, Pére Garrigues, refusing to leave his post, and perishing in the flames. A rescue party headed by M. Fliche of the French Legation went out to the southern cathedral in the night, and by early morning brought in every member of the mission including the venerable Pére d'Addosio, three priests, five nuns, and twenty Chinese nuns. The ancient and historic structure, identified with the labours of the most learned Catholics who ever came to China, Verbiest and Schall, was utterly destroyed, and countless Christians perished in

the flames, or were butchered afterward. A rescue party headed by Mr. William N. Pethick, with American and Russian soldiers went out in the morning, when about 230 Christians were discovered and saved, and 26 Boxers were killed or wounded. In the afternoon Dr. Morrison, the correspondent of the "Times" led another rescue party with a band of German and British marines and brought away a large number of Christians who would otherwise have been slain.

The amount of property destroyed in this vast organized attack upon foreigners in Peking cannot be accurately ascertained. Many private individuals owned dwellings in various parts of the city. A large compound in the Kou Lan alley, belonging to the Imperial Maritime Customs, was fired with the rest, involving immense loss to the Chinese Government. The electric light works fared no better than the unfinished Imperial Bank of China and the new Imperial Mint. Among the property destroyed belonging to the seven missionary organizations in Peking were thirty-four dwelling houses, eighteen chapels, twelve boys' schools, eleven girls' schools, four training schools, eleven dispensaries and eight hospitals, all within the city walls. The new and expensive summer houses of the British Legation at the Western Hills, together with thirty-three others belonging to various missions, were all looted, burned, and the materials carried away to the adjacent villages. The establishment of the Greek Church, nearly two hundred years old, shared the same fate.

The foreign cemetery, outside the P'ing-tzu gate of the northern city was completely wrecked. An avenue of large willows more than thirty years old disappeared completely, the trunks being sawed off near the ground, all the wood and even the branches being carried away.

RUINS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, PEKING

TEMPLE RUINS, PEKING

The enclosing walls of the compound were levelled to the bottom, the foundations dug out and the bricks removed for other uses elsewhere. The tombstones and monuments were all overthrown and broken into small fragments, while thirteen of the graves were opened, the bodies dragged out and burned, as was shown by fragments of bones, bits of cloth, and metal buttons here and there, telling their own melancholy story. The Russian and the Roman Catholic cemeteries in different localities received the same treatment.

For many days the whole horizon was obscured by the smoke of the great fires raging in every quarter. On the 16th the most extensive conflagration of all was seen outside the Ch'ien Mên, or middle gate on the south wall. In this region were situated the great banking establishments, fur and cloth stores and the largest and wealthiest places of business in Peking. It was reported that the fire had its origin in the attempt to burn a steam-flouring mill not far away, as well as a shop in which foreign medicines were sold. The wind was high, and the flames were soon beyond all control, even that of the fire god himself, to whom the frightened Boxers knelt in despair, begging him to prevent the great outer tower of the city gate from catching fire, as seemed inevitable. This was the lofty structure surmounting the outer central gate, only opened for the passage of the Emperor, as when he visited the Temple of Heaven and that to the God of Agriculture. The tower rose more than a hundred feet above the ground, and nearly fifty feet above the surrounding wall, and was soon wrapped in flames, affording a grand spectacle to all lookers-on.

One could not avoid sharing the feeling of the Chinese that this event was but the presage of the fall of the Tartar Dynasty which had seemed long since to have

lost "the Decree of Heaven" by which it professed to rule. All night and far into the next day the fire raged, leaving only ugly remains of the massive brick in place of the former stately sentinel on the pathway to the palace. The comprador of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank estimated the loss from this single fire in the southern city as not less than £1,000,000.

The widespread application of the torch, with its concomitant opportunities for plunder, were as the taste of blood to the fierce Boxer tiger. The formal ceremonies of burning incense to their divinities were performed in the most public places available, and apparently participated in by innumerable multitudes. The Legations and the Methodist compound, all lying but a short distance from the city wall, enabled those who were in a condition of semi-siege to hear with frightful distinctness the nocturnal yells of the vast mob gathered in the southern city, shouting "Kill the foreign devils! Kill! Kill! Kill!" Those who listened to this blood-curdling shout from a frenzied multitude can never forget the suggestion of a pandemonium, a rehearsal of hell.

The consideration that nothing but wholly untrustworthy Manchu guards, at the city gate but a few rods distant, prevented the bloodthirsty hordes from rushing upon the whole foreign quarter and inundating it, led the committee in charge at the Methodist compound to communicate with the American Minister. He wrote at once to the minor official in charge of the gate, asking him to close it early, and in case of the assemblage of a dangerous mob not to open it. To make sure of the matter, however, the committee went themselves, well armed, to the gate at dusk, saw the official and his numerous soldiers and gained his ready consent to do as requested. To make it more certain the key of the

gate was requested as a certificate of its being really locked, and after slight demur the gatekeeper actually brought it to the compound, escorted by the armed committee. He was escorted back by a squad of marines and furnished with a pass by means of which he could come within the lines the next morning, and get again the two-foot long bar of iron wherewith to set in motion once more the wheels of Peking life!

The next day the Tsung Li Yamen sent a note to the Minister requesting him to see that the key of the gate was restored to its proper custodians, but the process above described was repeated daily as long as the foreign premises were occupied. Not only so, but on one occasion the commander of a troop of 1,500 Chinese soldiers asked as a favour that the gate should be reopened to let his men pass through "to arrest the Boxers" in the southern city. But it was necessary to draw the line somewhere, and it was considered better not to set a precedent; so this servant of the Emperor was informed that, the gate being closed he would not be able to get out until the next day—a reply which he accepted as the final word in the matter.

Each day it became more and more difficult to make purchases owing to the fear of the country people, and the closing of so many shops. It thus became necessary for buyers to go out in parties, well armed, the foreign men frequently acting as an escort to the Chinese, who did the bargaining. A loaded rifle laid across his counter often had a marked effect in stimulating the memory of a shopkeeper as to the availability of an article called for, the cash value being invariably paid.

During this period of intense excitement and imminent danger Legation Street had been partly barricaded

by placing logs across it, and the same was done with some of the other streets and lanes. Sentries were posted at these points and the Italian shell gun and the American "Colt's automatic" were kept in readiness to resist an attack. On the 17th a collision took place between Austrian and German troops on the one part and Chinese soldiers on the other, in which some of the latter were killed.

On the evening of that day two members of the Tsung Li Yamen, at the risk of their own lives from the violence of Chinese soldiers, called upon Minister Conger, giving assurances of "protection" and asking the withdrawal of our troops. They were informed that hereafter Americans would protect themselves, and took their leave in evident alarm, as Capt. Myers, the commander of the marines, discharged opportune rifle shots as a reminder that preparations for defense were complete. It was the cue of the Chinese authorities at first to represent the Boxer movement as the work of boys and peasants, and in its later stages as a great popular uprising, too extensive for the Government to control, in the presence of which they were helpless.

The Imperial Customs Post Office, the service of which had become more and more uncertain, ceased sending out messengers, even in disguise as beggars, after June 16, and several of those previously despatched failed to reach Tientsin and were probably killed.

Repeated efforts were made to send messages to the advancing relief column, some of which succeeded. The last letter received at the American Legation from Captain McCalla was in response to one from the First Secretary reporting the numerous fires then devastating the Tartar city, and the desperate situation of all foreigners. An urgent message from the Americans penned up

in the Methodist compound, could not be got through the lines, though a heavy reward was offered, as the watch kept by the Boxer hordes was too strict.

After the general burning of foreign property in and about Peking, an Imperial Edict appeared, which touched however but lightly upon the deeds of violence already wrought, appearing to criticize the doers of these acts because they were done in the capital itself, and not as heretofore, at a distance. The question was raised whether it had ever been good usage for Governments to allow unrestrained license to their subjects. It is, therefore, commanded once more that the Boxers disperse, indeed they must do so. Several previous edicts, it is said, had already given this advice, and all good Boxers had hearkened, struck their tents, and departed. Therefore those who now remain, being all bad ones, must be rigourously seized.

On June 16 another Imperial Decree was issued informing the Yamen that soldiers had been ordered to patrol the city as protection against bad characters who were now creating disturbance. Soldiers were specially appointed to protect the foreign Legations. If members of the Legations left Peking they must be protected, but as this would be difficult when the railway was not in working order, they should remain in Peking until the railway was repaired, when it might be considered what was to be done. Jung Lu was appointed guardian of the Legations, and advice was asked of the Minister as to the best positions for the Chinese soldiers to occupy in making their defense of the same.

The phraseology of the Imperial Edicts deceived no one, not even foreigners. Although the latter could by no possibility ascertain what was going on within the Palace, it was evident that the Capital was

in the throes of a terrible crisis. On the 14th of June word reached the British Minister that at a meeting of the Grand Council it had been decided to attack Admiral Seymour's Expedition with the Imperial troops, and from this to a combined assault upon the Legations was a very short step indeed.

It was afterwards ascertained that on the 16th a Grand Council was held late in the afternoon to which were summoned by a sudden Decree all the Manchu Princes, Dukes, Nobles, and high officials, both Chinese and Manchu, of the Six Boards and Nine Ministries. Numerous accounts, verbal and written, of this gathering, have been given, but perhaps the most detailed and presumably authentic is that which was embodied in the "Experiences of a Refugee at Peking and on the Journey South," published in the "North China Daily News," August 8th.

According to this narrative the Manchus were first called to an audience of their own, and subsequently both the Manchus and the Chinese were received together in the Council Room of the I Luan Hall.

The Empress Dowager opened the Council by saying: "The Foreign Powers have browbeaten and persecuted us in such a manner that we cannot endure this any longer. We must therefore combine to fight all foreigners to the last, to save our 'face' in the eyes of the world. All our Manchu Princes, Dukes, Nobles and Ministers high and low, are unanimous in this determination for war to the knife, and I approve of their patriotic choice. I therefore give you all this announcement, and expect all to do their duty to their country."

The subsequent proceedings partook of the character of nearly all Chinese deliberations, where each speaker is anxious to avoid committing himself, or, if he must

speak, to drown all opposition with his violence, and if necessary, personal abuse. Hsü Ching Ch'êng, ex-Minister to Russia, and President of the Manchurian Railway, begged that the decision be reconsidered, since it was impracticable to fight all the Powers. To this Kang I replied that this would be unlike all former wars, for they now had the Boxers who were invulnerable to sword or bullet.

Yuan Ch'ang, a Tsung Li Yamen Minister replied that he had been an eye-witness of the Boxer attacks upon the Legations the day before, and had beheld the scene of the conflict strewn with the bodies of their leading men, each with a bullet or two through them. How then could they be invulnerable? Her Majesty interrupted him to affirm that he must be mistaken, and that the bodies which he had seen could not possibly be those of Boxers, but of outlaws, a remark which extinguished the Minister at once.

Marquis Tsêng begged that if there must be a fight it should be in an advantageous position, and not in Peking, and above all that the Legations should be respected. Some of the Powers were entirely friendly to China, must we fight them all alike? All the Manchus except Na T'ung, one of the recent accessions to the Yamen, were bent on war, but when he plead for peace the wrath of his clansmen rose to a boiling pitch, and he was denounced as a traitor. But he went on to say that if a fight must take place it should be near the coast.

The Empress Dowager glared at him while speaking, and seemed to expect Kang I to reply, who suggested that Na T'ung and Hsu Ching Ch'êng, who opposed the Manchu policy, should be appointed to go out to meet the Seymour Expedition, and stop its advance, since the latter was a *persona grata* to foreigners. This was pro-

posed in the hope that they would be killed in the attempt.

His Majesty, the Emperor, took no part in the debate, but when he saw that the fatal resolution was about to be adopted he begged Her Majesty to reconsider the decision to fight all foreign nations, saying that the movement once inaugurated would make peace an impossibility in the future, and the destruction of the country imminent. The Empress Dowager paid no attention to his imploring words, and the Council broke up in an uproar of the Manchus against those of the Chinese who had opposed them, calling them enemies and traitors to the common cause. Na T'ung and Hsü Ching Ch'êng were obliged to go on their futile errand of stopping the Seymour Expedition, but at Fêng T'ai were stopped by the Boxers, who paid no attention to the rank or mission of the officials, but compelled them to go to the Boxer altar and await the decision of their Patron Saint as to whether they should be beheaded, or merely turned back in disgrace. They were at last set free to go back, but told that if they persisted in accomplishing their errand they would be at once beheaded; upon this they returned in humiliation to the Court.

During the following days there seems to have been a Grand Council almost every day. It is alleged that in one of these the Empress Dowager presented a fictitious communication from the Foreign Ministers, demanding that a special place be assigned to the Emperor, that he should be restored to rule the Empire, and that all the revenues of the Empire and all its military affairs be committed to their hands. Upon this she is said to have made an impassioned plea for the "rivers and streams," "the altars of the land and the grain," and fidelity to the

THRONE ROOM OF EMPEROR KUANG HSÜ

high trust of ruling the Empire, and by this means the Ministers were all united as one man.

On the afternoon of June 19 the following identical note was sent to the Legations:

"The Princes and Ministers have the honour to inform the Minister of the United States that the Viceroy of Chihli has memorialized the Throne that he has received a communication from M. Chaylard, the French Consul-General at Tientsin, on the 17th inst., stating that the Admirals of the foreign fleets had demanded the surrender of all the Taku forts by to-morrow A. M. at two o'clock or else they would attack them and take them by force. The Princes and Ministers have the honour to say that this news has caused them great astonishment. China has been so long at peace with the Powers that if now the foreign Admirals intend to seize the forts this would show an intention on the part of the Powers to break off friendly relations, and they would be the first to offend. At the present time the Boxer banditti have risen in Peking and cause public excitement. The Minister of the United States with his family and staff being here, his Legation is now in danger, and China will find it a difficult matter to give complete protection.

"The Princes and Ministers therefore beg that within twenty-four hours the Minister of the United States, with his family and staff, and taking his guards, keeping them under control, will leave for Tientsin in order to avoid danger. An escort of troops has been despatched to give protection en route, and the local officials have also been notified to allow the Ministerial party to pass."

The political atmosphere of the capital of the Chinese Empire had for a long time been in an electrical condition which presaged a storm. This note from the

Yamen, addressed not only to the Ministers, but communicated also to Sir Robert Hart, apparently as a piece of intelligence, without orders or recommendation to govern his action with regard to the staff of the Imperial Maritime Customs, was not merely the unanticipated clap of thunder, it was a bombshell. The Yamen's note was carefully dated at "4 o'clock," to show at what time the twenty-four hours would expire. It is certain that when it was written the Government knew that the forts had been already taken, not on the 18th, but the day previous, but with Chinese indirectness they did not like to admit the fact. Up to that moment there had been no information that Tientsin was in danger, still less that Taku was threatened, and the action of the Admirals was naturally construed as premature and needlessly endangering the lives of all those at a distance from the seacoast. When the facts were fully learned some months later, an entirely new aspect was put upon the naval action.

The Ministers held a meeting that same evening at the Legation of the doyen of the diplomatic corps, the Spanish Minister, to determine what should be done, a decision of extreme difficulty and delicacy for a great variety of reasons.

The reply agreed upon expressed astonishment at the despatch which had been received, the Ministers being in complete ignorance as to any action in regard to the forts at Taku. The foreign Ministers could only accept the declaration and the demand which the Yamen made to them and prepare to leave Peking. But it was impossible to arrange for the departure within the short time of twenty-four hours. The Chinese Government must know that there were many women and children and that it would be a numerous procession.

The Tsung Li Yamen offered safeguards en route. The

Ministers wished to know in what these consisted understanding that the country was full of rebels. They did not doubt the sincere willingness of the Chinese Government, but as there were foreign soldiers on the way for the purpose of coöperating amicably with the Government in reëstablishing order the Ministers wished these detachments to join the Legations that all might depart together. They also demanded transport, carts, boats and provisions, and also to be accompanied by some of the Ministers of the Tsung Li Yamen. In conclusion they asked to meet Prince Ching and Prince Tuan the next morning at 9 o'clock.

There was a general agreement among the members of the different Legations that it would be necessary to leave the capital perhaps in great haste, and action seems for the most part to have been taken upon that hypothesis. Some there were, who felt that the only proper action was an absolute refusal to stir, but while others higher in authority spent the entire night in packing trunks and making preliminary arrangements, it was out of the question to act independently. Everything would hinge upon the reply to the joint letter of the Ministers to the Yamen.

Mr. Conger at once despatched a letter to the American missionaries at the Methodist compound, informing them of the circular note from the Yamen and of the necessity for speedy departure. This arrived at its destination some time during the evening. After nine o'clock a meeting of all the gentlemen not on duty at the time was called to consider what to do. It was resolved to write the Minister a letter pointing out the practical difficulties of leaving Peking under the conditions mentioned, as well as the probable consequences to those who did so, and also the certain massacre of the Christians neces-

sarily abandoned. As the matter was one of capital importance, two other letters, from private individuals, were prepared and all these were personally delivered at an early hour on the following morning.

In the extended conference of the Ministers which followed, no reference was made to the demands in the letter to the Yamen for delay until the relief corps arrived, nor to the one that members of the Tsung Li Yamen should accompany the expedition. The only question appeared to be when the expedition was to start and this was apparently a matter of but a few hours more or less. A request had been made to the Yamen for one hundred carts to be placed at the disposal of the Legations. There was a definite intention to postpone the departure as long as practicable, but likewise a feeling that a protracted postponement would be impossible.

For those who felt themselves bound to do the utmost for their Chinese converts, the question what was to become of them was a pressing one. But upon this point it was impossible to get any assurance whatsoever. If the diplomatic corps could be said to have had any attitude at all upon a matter which did not come before them, and in which some of them took no interest, it was this: We are responsible for the welfare of our nationals only. Chinese converts are the subjects of the Chinese Government, and must ultimately fall into their hands. Nothing that we can do will avail to save them. It is all that we can do to save ourselves. While it is natural and proper that their spiritual guides and leaders should take a deep interest in the fate of their clients, and while it is impossible for humanity to contemplate coolly what that fate will probably be, especially in the case of the schoolgirls, we cannot allow sentimental considerations of this sort to govern our actions at this time. Should

the missionaries remain behind they could do nothing toward the protection of the Chinese, but would rather, while insuring their own destruction, make that of the Chinese more speedy. For this reason every missionary is to be ordered to leave with the Legations, and if he should refuse to go he must be removed by force.

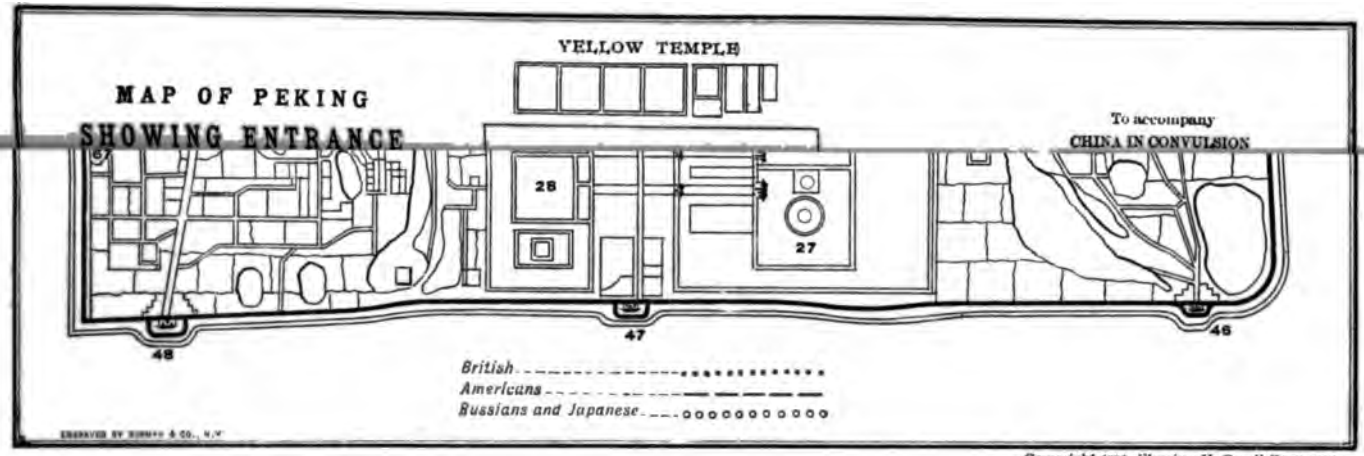
Nothing of this was indeed explicitly uttered, for the reason that before the question had come to the final test a way had been opened not less surprising than the cleaving of the waters of the Red Sea for the children of Israel.

On the morning of June 14, as previously mentioned, two Boxers had been captured by the Germans, one of whom escaped and was reported to have taken refuge in the palace of Prince Su, opposite the British Legation, which was actually being used as a Boxer drill-ground and perhaps headquarters. This gave an excuse for reporting to the British Minister that this place was perhaps a Boxer refuge, and asking for a military inspection of the premises. As a result of the conference with the Minister on the subject, the Japanese commander was asked to coöperate, and Col. Shiba, Capt. Halliday (British), together with Dr. Morrison and Prof. James went to the Fu and informed the Prince through his steward that the search was imminent, and asked formal permission to make it.

The Prince indignantly refused, alleging that he had no connection with the Boxers in any form. A second and more peremptory message brought the reply that the Prince had always been on friendly terms with foreigners, but that if a search was insisted upon "his face could be saved" by his yielding to superior force. He met the inspecting delegation at one of the inner gates, welcomed them cordially, showed them every part of his

place, and even opened the door to display his wives, concubines and eunuchs, dressed to the top of their bent and lined up in array.

At subsequent interviews it was arranged with Prof. James that in the outer courts of the Fu the many hundred Roman Catholic Christians rescued from the Nan T'ang, as already mentioned, should find temporary shelter. Thus by the energy and tact of two Englishmen, the way was already opened for a refuge for the additional hundreds whom the Protestant missionaries would not abandon, and for whom no one in authority took thought.



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XV

THE ATTACK ON THE LEGATIONS

AT a meeting of the Diplomatic Corps held in Peking on Tuesday evening, June 19, Baron Von Ketteler, the German minister, strongly dissented from the almost unanimous opinion of his colleagues that it was necessary to leave Peking. Another adjourned meeting was held on the next morning at eight o'clock to await the reply of the Yamen to the note already summarized, which concluded by asking for an interview at the Yamen at nine o'clock, especially with the Princes.

As no answer came, the Baron informed his colleagues that he himself would go in any case, as he had sent a notification to that effect, not requiring a reply, on the evening previous. To avoid the Chinese objection that an armed guard of Germans would excite the animosity of the people, and especially of the soldiers, he had determined to go with no escort of any kind and visibly unarmed. To the numerous objections made on the ground of the danger, he replied that a Minister on his way to the Yamen was not likely to be assailed, especially when his coming was known and awaited. If the Princes and Ministers failed to come to time, or to come at all, he could afford to out-wait them, and he had provided himself with a book and cigars for the occasion.

The German Minister belonged to an old Roman Catholic family and was the nephew of an archbishop.

He had been a military man and held the commission of a lieutenant in the Prussian Army. Being transferred to the consular service he came to China in the early 80's and acquired the Chinese language with considerable success. During serious riots in Canton he so distinguished himself as to win decorations both from the German and from the Chinese Government. When the post of Secretary of Legation was vacant in Peking he was again transferred to the diplomatic service, and held the office for some years. He was subsequently First Secretary at the German Embassy in Washington, from which office he was promoted to be Minister to Mexico for two years, after which he was again transferred to China.

He was a man of decided opinions, and his military experience may not improbably have had its effect on his diplomatic history. His determination to have an interview with the Tsung Li Yamen quite independently of his colleagues was a characteristic trait, and was due to the conviction that he had a message to the Yamen of an important nature, although not by any means new. Aside from gaining information as to protection proposed, he wished to urge upon the highest accessible officials in the Empire that in driving the Ministers of eleven nations out of their capital they were taking a step which would ultimately put an end to the Manchu dynasty. This serious warning, presented under ominous aspects, would, he hoped, be enough to give them at least temporary pause.

Immediately at the close of the morning meeting of the Diplomatic Corps, the German Minister, accompanied by the interpreter, Mr. Cordes, proceeded to the Yamen in the usual official sedan chairs, passing east of the

French Legation by the T'ai Ch'i Ch'ang street to the Ch'ang An Chieh, where they turned eastward to the Ha Ta street, which was entered just below the single Memorial Arch (Tan P'ai-lou). For several days, in passing through this street, groups of soldiers had been noticed standing about, but they had attracted no special attention at this time.

A few hundred yards north of the arch, at a point opposite the mouth of the Tsung Pu alley, about thirty soldiers were posted near a police station. Mr. Cordes, who was behind, saw the officer in command, who had a white button, and a feather in his cap, step a little to one side of the rest, and suddenly discharge a rifle at the Minister's chair. The Minister made no movement to leave the sedan and was no doubt immediately killed. Mr. Cordes instantly arose, and as he did so received a rifle shot in his thigh, inflicting a dangerous wound. But for his rising, the bullet would have penetrated his skull. The bearers immediately set down the chairs and fled. The outrider rode on rapidly to the Yamen and gave word of what had occurred, while Mr. Cordes summoned up his strength to escape if possible.

This seemed wholly out of the question, as behind him were crowds of soldiers, who at once opened fire on him. He ran toward the north, entering the first alley on the right hand side of the street, and thence by devious lanes, pursued for some distance by Chinese spearmen, made his way to the premises of the Methodist mission, at least a third of a mile distant. Here he saw for the first time a foreign face and lost consciousness. He was at once taken into the compound, and had his wound attended to by Dr. Ingram of T'ung Chou, who happened to be near at hand, and who considered the probabilities of

recovery very slight. His escape was little less than a miracle, considering the number of his assailants and the severity of his injury.

The shot which killed Baron von Ketteler produced effects which the authors of the international crime never intended and could not have foreseen. Almost all the foreigners in Peking were already either within the Legations or the general rectangle supposed to be commanded by them, or were at the Methodist compound, so that the news of the terribly significant tragedy was at once spread and its meaning universally and instantly appreciated. All thought of leaving Peking under any kind of Chinese escort was dismissed from every mind, the absolute certainty of treachery being now clearly seen. In this respect it is literally true that the death of the German Minister was a vicarious sacrifice which saved the lives of all the other foreigners in Peking.

On the afternoon of the day when this murder was committed, the Tsung Li Yamen had the effrontery to send to the German Legation a dispatch informing them that two Germans proceeding along that route had fired upon the crowd and had been fired upon in return, one of them being killed; and they demanded to know the names.

To this no reply could with self-respect be sent. The body was taken up and provided with a coffin by one of the friendly Chinese Ministers, against whom this was said to be one of the counts in the indictment which led to his execution a few weeks later.

It is a remarkable fact that the London evening papers of June 16th contained dispatches credited to the Tientsin agent of the "Laffan" News Telegraph Agency, saying that the German Minister in Peking had been murdered.

In some of the telegrams at least this was accompanied

by the report that the Legations had been taken, but no other name was mentioned. There must have been some reason to expect an attack upon Baron von Ketteler, whose imperative manner was at that time particularly obnoxious to the Chinese.

On the afternoon of that day the news reached Berlin from London and led to an extensive inquiry of the German Imperial Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, the German representatives at Tokio and London, and the German Consuls at Chefoo and Shanghai, but nothing was known of the alleged fact. It is not often that a crime of this extraordinary character is telegraphed around the world four days in advance of its occurrence, and yet when it actually happens remains for some time unknown.

The occupants of the Customs compound on the other side of the block of which the palace of Prince Su comprised the western portion, were now hurried over to the British Legation, whither the women had been already removed several days previous. For many days the streets adjacent to the Legations had been patrolled by Chinese troops. Now that a Manchu guard had opened fire upon a foreign Minister, the Chinese army was supposed to be committed to war with every foreigner, and it behooved them all to make the best use of whatever defence might be within their power.

Orders were sent to Captain Hall to escort the civilians gathered at the Methodist mission to the American Legation, the Chinese Christians being allowed to follow behind. By the time, however, that these orders reached the seventy Americans there gathered, they were notified that they must be prepared to leave the premises within twenty minutes, and with only such baggage as could be carried in the hand. As soon as this was made known,

every one hastened to the fortress-church to open his trunks with a view to removing the articles of absolute necessity. As it was doubtful whether anything now abandoned would ever be seen again, little pains were taken to lock the trunks, and the whole building was soon strewn with articles of the most heterogeneous description.

All too soon the command to fall into line was given, the women and children behind the twenty marines, the 126 schoolgirls following, and after them the Chinese women and children, all loaded with whatever they could carry. The Chinese men and boys formed a large company, many of them carrying burdens or trundling bicycles for the foreigners. Several cases of condensed milk, which it was impracticable otherwise to save, were served out to the Chinese, a few tins to each. Some weeks later, when it was no longer attainable, this would have been a priceless boon to the besieged. A party of German marines, detailed as bearers of the wounded interpreter, marched with melancholy mien in the line, the rear of which was brought up by the handful of missionaries, most of them armed with rifles or revolvers, or both. Several of the Chinese also were furnished with guns and many with Chinese pikes, in the use of which they had been indefatigably drilled each evening.

Taken altogether, it was a procession which even in the terrible uncertainties of the hour appeared to many who took part in it at once pathetic and ludicrous. One could not fail to be reminded of the children of Israel as they departed from Egypt, though so far from being laden with the spoils of the Egyptians, the refugees were in the matter of baggage very light indeed. Slowly the long and sad caravan passed out of the Filial Piety alley, southward along the great street toward the Ha Ta gate,

CHINESE CHRISTIAN FAMILY

MISSIONARY AND SCHOOL GIRLS, PEKING

thence turning westward into Legation Street. The Chairman of the General Committee had the forethought to step down to that gate, and inform the commander of the Manchus posted there that, as the mission premises were being abandoned for the time, it would be a favour if he would station a guard at the outer door to prevent looting by the neighbours. About midway of the distance to the American Legation they passed the barricade at the eastern end of the premises of the Italian Legation. Here was planted the Italian machine gun, and here the remainder of the American marines met the party. For some unexplained reason the Chinese Christians were detained at this point for a long time.

The impassive faces of the numerous spectators who thronged the great street gave little or no sign of the joy and triumph which some of them must have felt, as they saw the visible closing in of the net around the foreigner and his adherents. Perhaps the most striking thing in the whole proceeding was the quiet, matter-of-fact way in which the Chinese Christians themselves behaved. Many previous alarms had served as rehearsals, and then, as now, there had been the same promptness and decorum in the movements of the schoolgirls as if they had been on their way to a religious service. Not a woman wept, not a child whimpered, but all instinctively obeyed orders and kept their places. One of the American marines, looking on with just admiration, remarked:

"The Missionary Society that appointed those ladies to take care of these Chinese knew what they were about, for certain."

In order to follow the movements of the refugees from this point, some acquaintance with the topography of the Legation district of Peking is indispensable. By the aid of

the map this becomes quite clear, but even without one it is easily comprehensible. There are three great gates in the southern wall of the Tartar or northern city of Peking. The middle one is called the Ch'ien Mên or Front Gate, that half way between this and the south-eastern corner of the city is the Ha Ta Mên. From each gate a broad street leads north, intersected at intervals by wide streets at right angles to it. Of these latter the one nearest to the southern wall of the city is Legation Street, called by the Chinese Chiao Min Hsiang or Instruct the People Street, which is about a mile in length, its western terminus being near the Ch'ien Mên. The next principal east and west street lies about a third of a mile further north and is called the Ch'ang An Chieh or Street of Permanent Peace. The western half of its course is immediately under the southern wall of the Imperial City; its eastern end opens into the Ha Ta Men great street.

About midway between the Ch'ien Mên and the Ha Ta Mên great street, and parallel with it, flows the so-called Imperial Canal. This is practically a mere drain for the surplus waters of the Imperial City, which pass by it through a water gate into the moat of the southern city. This canal is several rods wide, is lined with brick or stone walls six or eight feet high, capped with stone, and has a broad road on each side of it. Legation Street crosses it on a stone bridge called the Imperial Canal Bridge, and near the wall of the Imperial City the Street of Permanent Peace crosses by another bridge of the same name.

Within the double rectangle bounded by the city wall on the south, the Ch'ang An Chieh on the north, the Ha Ta street on the east, and another road to the west called the Board of War street, were situated all the foreign

Legations except one—the Belgian; also the hotels, banks, foreign stores, the Imperial Customs, the Post Office, and the incomplete Imperial Mint. Coming from the Ha Ta street westward, the first Legation on the north side, somewhat isolated from the remainder, was the Italian. Farther on were the French Legation, the Hotel de Pékin and the Japanese and Spanish Legations. On the south side of the street was the German Legation opposite the French, the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, and one of the foreign stores. West of the bridge over the canal stands the Russian Legation on the north side, opposite the American Legation on the south, with the Russo-Chinese Bank, another foreign store, and the Netherlands Legation, all on the south side of the street.

Passing up the canal from the bridge for a few hundred yards, one comes to the east gate of the British Legation, the southern extremity of which is not very distant from the northern wall of the Russian Legation. This fact later proved to be of great importance. Northwest of the Legation, and adjoining it was the Imperial Carriage Park, an expansive area with numerous large buildings devoted to the storage of the elephant carriages, sedan chairs, and other vehicles used by the Emperor, with their appurtenances and trappings. On the northern side extending to the Ch'ang An Chieh were the spacious premises of the Hanlin Yuan, or Imperial Academy, which soon became a storm centre in the defence of the Legation.

The American refugees from the Methodist compound filed wearily into the United States Legation about noon, without the least idea of what disposition was to be made of them. Almost every one had come away with no opportunity to make provision for food other than whatever happened to be at hand, but through the generous hos-

pitality of Mrs. Squiers, wife of the First Secretary, the whole large company was promptly served with an informal luncheon. Not only so, but her amply stocked storeroom was placed at the disposal of her destitute countrymen and women, who were generously told to help themselves to whatever was in sight. Full advantage was taken of this permission, coolies and carts being loaded up repeatedly for several hours in the endeavour to remove as much as possible to the British Legation, which had been fixed as the general headquarters for all. It was largely due to this unanticipated and unexampled liberality that the American refugees were able with some degree of success to bear the privations of the siege, and it is not too much to say that in this way several lives were in all probability saved and the comfort of scores greatly enhanced. During the entire siege Mrs. Squiers was preëminently the Lady Bountiful of the occasion, looking after the wants of many of various nationalities with a lavish and an undiscriminating hospitality.

Nor was she alone in this thoughtfulness for others' comfort. Lady MacDonald's extensive premises, like the British Legation itself, were turned inside out to accommodate newcomers; her table was filled not only with British, but with Italians, Austrians and Belgians. The ballroom was turned into a bedroom for tired ladies by night, and served as their rest house by day. The smoking-room was given up to the gentlemen at night, and the offices were turned into a carefully tended hospital. Nothing which could have ministered to the assistance of the refugees or the wounded later on was omitted. some of the lady doctors acting as nurses in the International Hospital, which was thus recruited as would not otherwise have been possible. Both Lady MacDonald and her sister surrendered their bedrooms, the former

in the day-time, for the use of over-wearied officers who had no quiet place to sleep off the fatigues of the wearing night duty.

After two hours' stay in the United States Legation, the American party were ordered to proceed to the British Legation, where they found themselves assigned to the church, a building centrally situated, but affording very narrow accommodations for so many. Some of the number took the precaution to enter the Chinese shops on Legation Street, taking possession of whatever was likely to prove useful, especially provisions, giving a receipt when the owners were present, in other cases merely appropriating abandoned goods. By this prompt action much was secured that would subsequently have been unobtainable, and was ultimately invaluable.

At the time of the arrival of the American contingent at the British Legation the scene was one of intense activity. Uncounted carts loaded with every variety of household furniture continually arrived. Swarms of coolies struggled through the broad passages, the stream of those endeavouring to enter becoming constantly entangled with the equally strong current of those trying to get out again in order to go back and reload. The whole Legation had been turned inside out, recharted, and its separate buildings assigned to different nationalities. This was the Russian house, that the French, and a third was devoted to the use of the staff of the Imperial Customs. Similarly with the rest. The spacious front pavilion began to be covered with the most miscellaneous luggage, especially cases of provisions and wines, as this was the headquarters of the numerous Belgians, French and others in the employ of the ruined Lu-Han Railway, who had so narrowly escaped massacre at Ch'ang Hsin Tien.

The rear pavilion, as a conspicuous notice informed

the weary wanderers who might be in quest of a resting place, was "Reserved," and was divided into several messes. In one corner two men represented what was left of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, in another corner several military officers had such headquarters as were possible, while the "Times'" correspondent was content with a mattress on the floor tiles, near which was stacked up in a huge pile his library, happily rescued just before his house was destroyed.

With the exception of a few who remained at their own Legations, and the company besieged already for four days in the Pei T'ang, or Northern Cathedral, the foreign community of Peking was now nearly synonymous with the residents of the British Legation. With the exception of those living within the legation quadrangle, by far the larger part of these refugees, even including the Customs staff living but a few hundred yards distant, had saved very little of their possessions. Some had a single trunk, others a travelling valise, while here and there was one whose clothing was represented merely by what he had on at the time he entered the Legation.

The headquarters of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs was but a few minutes' walk from the British Legation, and nothing would have been easier than to have brought safely away the entire contents of the dwellings and of the public buildings, including the Post Office, in which were heaps of valuable registered letters, accumulated for many days. There were members of the staff ready and eager to undertake this work, but permission could not be secured, as it was apparently supposed that in a short time the men would all return to their places and to their work, when the trouble would have been lost. All the voluminous records, correspondence, archives, and other documents of the Customs were thus

needlessly lost, and even the priceless "Diary" of the Inspector General, Sir Robert Hart, for which the world has long been waiting, was rescued with some difficulty from the fate which overtook almost everything else. The indisputable fact that men who knew so much about China did not see the Boxer movement in the horizon nor yet apprehend it when it was at their doors, is one of the most remarkable psychological facts of modern times, but it is nevertheless a fact.

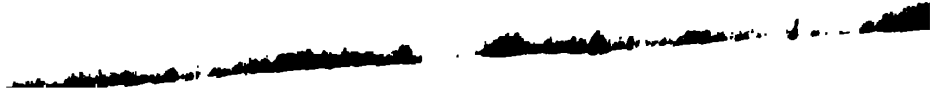
It has already been mentioned that the process by which the palace of Prince Su was made available for the Christian refugees was a gradual one. When they began to stream in on Wednesday afternoon, June 20th, they were for some hours kept in the passage in front of the outer gate under the trees, where it is not surprising that, hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them. A party of women went over from the British Legation to look after them, soon after which Prof. James opened the gate and let them in to the outer courts. There, by dint of much Occidental help, rubbish was removed, sweeping and dusting executed, and a comfortable place at last provided for all the women and children. A large kitchen was furnished with every requisite for cooking, including an abundance of coal, and the expansive divans afforded accommodations of comparative luxury. It was at this juncture that fire was opened by the Kansu soldiers on the Austrian Legation near by and that Prince Su prudently retired to the security of the Imperial City, his whole great establishment thereupon becoming the abode of the homeless Christians until they were driven out of it by an enemy more irresistible than Boxers and soldiers combined.

The American party had no sooner found their appointed quarters, than it was decided to return to the

Methodist compound with a band of as many Chinese as were available, to bring away as much as could be saved of the baggage which the military panic of the morning had needlessly sacrificed. The streets were as quiet as when the cavalcade had passed in the morning, and the long and well-armed procession of missionaries with rifles, and Chinese with pikes, was unmolested. The Manchu guard was found duly posted at the outer doors, but some of the neighbours had apparently come in over the walls, and not a little looting had already taken place; some who were caught in the act were attacked and wounded by the indignant Chinese. By diligent use of the available means of transportation, and by the impressment of a few carts at good pay, a great quantity of property was rescued, without which the inconveniences of the siege would have been much increased; yet clothing and other effects, worth many thousand dollars could not be removed and were lost.

There was a notion prevailing among the Chinese at this time, that at four o'clock in the afternoon the soldiers would open fire, this being construed as the limit of time within which the Legations were to have left Peking. The troops were not supposed either to know or to care what the Tsung Li Yamen might or might not say, but would take matters into their own hands, and if the foreign Ministers would not go of their own accord, they were to be driven out by force. Whence this rumour originated it is impossible now to determine, but it undoubtedly hastened as well as cut short the salvage of property, all of which might else have been brought away in safety.

Promptly at the stroke of four, the troops of General Tung Fu Hsiang opened the expected rifle fire on the Austrian Legation. Soon shots began to be heard in



PRINCE SU

PRINCE SU'S CHILDREN AND GERMAN TUTOR

every direction, and every one hastened to get under safe cover.

Explicit assurance had been given from Jung Lu himself to Prof. James that there should be no attack upon foreigners at this time. Implicitly confiding in this declaration, the latter was on his way to the palace of Prince Su, in the interest of the native Christians to be quartered there by way of the bridge over the canal, near the wall of the Imperial city, when he was challenged by Chinese soldiers. Prof. James threw up his hands to show that he was unarmed. What followed, at the time and for long afterwards, was imperfectly known, though every effort was made to ascertain his fate. After the siege was over enough was learned to make it appear probable that he was taken before Jung Lu by the soldiers. After a few days of captivity, and on his refusal to prostrate himself before the Boxer leaders, he was taken out and beheaded. The head of a foreigner answering to his description was afterwards exposed on the Tung Hua gate.

He was a man of scholarly habits, of long acquaintance with China and with a wide knowledge of the Empire and its people. He had especially interested himself in a study of the development of the Boxer movement, having for some months made a careful collection of all decrees and other documents bearing upon the subject. The results of this labour, like so much else of value, was lost in the general welter of ruin when all foreign property was destroyed on June 13th.

It is worthy of mention at this point that the long expected reply of the Tsung Li Yamen to the Diplomatic corps, through the doyen, M. de Cologan, was received during the excitement of removal to the British Legation. It acknowledged the receipt of the letter of

the evening before, and informed the Ministers that "in making the statement that you ought to leave Peking within twenty-four hours, we were guided by no other consideration than that of the disturbances raised by the bandits in the city of Peking itself. But the regions surrounding Peking being at present disturbed, it is to be feared also that the departure of a procession of the families of members of the Legation and their children cannot occur without danger. Since your despatch declares that it is impossible for you to prepare to leave within twenty-four hours, we naturally agree to the delay and to fresh negotiation.

"The relations between China and foreign Powers have not been strained by any animosity. But at present, by reason of the disagreement which exists between the people and the Christians, a state of things has actually occurred which could not really have been foreseen. With regard to the interview, the traversing of the streets is dangerous, and the Princes being daily on guard at the palace can not be in two places at the same time. The Princes and Ministers are pleased with the declaration of peaceful intentions, and a desire to safeguard good relations." The letter concluded by asking what were the intentions and instructions of the Governments.

The next day a reply was sent from the diplomatic corps, assuring their Excellencies that the Governments had never given any but the most friendly instruction in regard to China. The detachments were on their way to Peking for no other purpose than to assure safety. Attention was called to the firing upon the Legations, which had continued since the day before. This must be against the wish of the Government and chargeable to rebels, or to groups of soldiers acting independently.

The Yamen was asked to have an immediate stop put to this aggression, so contrary to the terms of the note just received, and to the spirit of this despatch.

From the mere perusal of these formal and courteous letters no one would have had the smallest suspicion that the Government of the Chinese Empire was in the very act of making war upon the whole civilized world, that the Foreign Office was for the next six weeks to remain absolutely silent, ignoring the Foreign Ministers, and that the latter were to be bombarded for two months with shot and shell while at bay in their own Legations.

The shot that killed the German minister was fired by express orders of some one, probably Prince Tuan, who seemed from that time to wield the supreme authority, so far as any authority at all existed. Its echoes had scarcely had time to die away before the gravity of the act and its certain consequences made a government council a necessity—indeed it appears that there was one already in session at the moment.

The Manchu party pressed for a Decree ordering Jung Lu as Generalissimo of the Grand Army in the North, to bring his troops into Peking and formally attack the Legations, destroy them, and then proceed to Tientsin to exterminate the foreigners there, or drive them into the sea—which had been the favourite program of the Conservatives for some two years.

It is represented that just as Her Majesty was about to give her consent, the Emperor made a strong and pitiful plea for delay before embarking upon a policy which would be the ruin of millions of his unoffending subjects, and endanger the foundations of the Empire. He was overcome by his emotion, but he was treated with cold contempt and stinging insult both by the Empress Dowager and by Prince Tuan and left the Hall

weeping. No one among the Chinese dared oppose the Imperial will, and the fatal Edict was at once issued. The same afternoon the troops of Jung Lu crowded into the city, bringing their field and machine guns with them, and an immense supply of the latest and best magazine rifles.

From this time on the condition of the capital became like that of Paris under the wildest orgies of the Commune. Any one clad in the Boxer habiliments was invested with authority to kill, burn, and destroy at will, and no one dared oppose. Peking and Pandemonium were for the time synonymous terms. The Kansu troops roamed about through the city looting the residences of innumerable officials, regardless of their record or their predilections. The most bigoted Conservatives like Hsü T'ung (who longed to have a rug made of the skin of a Western Barbarian), and Sun Chia Nai, ex-Chancellor of the Imperial University (the sole relic of the Emperor's reforms of 1898), fared alike, and nothing portable was left in their houses. Whoever remonstrated was likely to be killed as well as plundered, and this happened to great numbers of the officials of the highest rank, until it is said that the streets were red with blood. The troops of Jung Lu were not behind the attainments of the Kansu ruffians in pillaging and murder, and although a Manchu Colonel of one of the regiments caught red-handed was summarily beheaded, as were also many of the soldiers, it was like "wrapping up fire in paper," and the riot and ruin went on largely unchecked.

The details of the looting of Peking by the soldiers of Tung Fu Hsiang and Jung Lu have been told by trustworthy native witnesses, whose stories give a graphic picture of the condition of things in this unhappy city. One of these writers who occupied a dwelling very near

to the Austrian Legation describes the horrible panic when it was known that the troops had been let loose. Those of his neighbours who made any resistance were shot at sight, but in his own case soft words and a yielding manner resulted merely in the removal of all his trunks and boxes, with all the furs, clothing, jewelry, and money which could be found, one party succeeding another to the number of seven or eight in swift succession. In some cases nearly all the clothing was torn from the persons of the officials in the eager scramble, and some members of every family in the street were killed by the wild and unintermittent firing, until the court-yards and streets were littered with dead bodies. Multitudes of the officials and other residents of Peking finding that their property was despoiled and their lives unsafe from one moment to the next, got together whatever they could, and hastened to T'ung Chou, where the same wild lawlessness prevailed.

Thence they endeavoured to make their way by boat to Tientsin, and since the sea route was blocked, by way of the Grand Canal to the south. In Tientsin as in Peking they were plundered and insulted, and many of them lost their all, while still others perished, no one knows where, at the hands of no one knows whom.

XVI

THE FIRST WEEK OF THE SIEGE

THE British Legation had not been occupied four and twenty hours before many at least of the refugees were enabled to comprehend something of the reasons for the disasters in the contemporary South African campaign. The seventy-nine British marines who had been suddenly summoned from the ocean to the defence of the Legation, together with their officers, had all the excellent qualities which British soldiers and sailors for centuries have displayed the world around. They were brave, patient, and always ready for duty, and are entitled to all honour for their heroic and persistent defence in the face of almost overwhelming discouragements. But officers and men alike were young and without the smallest experience of the kind of warfare in which they were now to engage.

There was not a man among them all more than 30 years of age. Many of them were barely past 20. Neither their experience nor their training in any way fitted them for garrison duty of the unexampled sort now to be suddenly required. The marines had been daily drilled in the routine manner for some weeks after their arrival, but nothing had been done toward fortifying the Legation in any way whatever, except that a low earth rampart was thrown up about the entrance to the Legations to protect the machine gun which was there mounted. A few gunny sacks were filled with earth at

THE SU WANG FU, OCCUPIED BY NATIVE CHRISTIANS

the main gate, but aside from these not a sand bag had been prepared or apparently even thought of.

One of the positions of vital importance to the whole Legation quadrangle was the premises of Prince Su. At the time when the siege began, it was outside of any line of defence, the British guard which had been previously posted at the upper bridge over the canal having been now withdrawn, and Japanese sentries being stationed along the northern wall of the Fu. Not long after an Italian post was established at the extreme left, which was never given up. East of the Fu, at a little distance, was the Imperial Maritime Customs compound, guarded by the Customs Volunteers. Across the street to the east was the Austrian Legation. South of that were the Customs Post Office and other foreign buildings; to the east of that was vacant land and south of this again, at no great distance, was the Italian Legation. These various premises were so related to one another by contiguity, and by intercepting barricades across the streets, that they appeared to be defensible for a long time.

In the very early hours of the siege Sir Claude MacDonald applied to one of the Americans whom he knew, for information as to whom among them he could depend upon for assistance in the innumerable matters requiring immediate and ceaseless attention. He was told that committees were already in existence covering every need, and that if it was desired, thoroughly competent men could be summoned within five minutes, who had already had considerable experience in their respective duties which they had executed with marked success. The result was the appointment within an hour of about a dozen committees on the lines suggested, the previous chairman being retained, reënforced by able and willing coadjutors.

A large part of the civil as distinct from the military history of the siege in Peking is the story of the work of these committees. Several of them will receive more detailed description hereafter.

The General Committee, of miscellaneous and comprehensive function, was engineered by the indefatigable and versatile talents of Mr. Tewksbury, whose tireless energy never appeared to flag even after the siege was raised. The other members of the body were Henry Cockburn, Chinese Secretary of the British Legation, Mr. Popoff of the Russian, and Mr. Morisse of the French Legations, Mr. Bredon of the Customs, Mr. Hobart of the Methodist Mission, with Mr. Stelle as secretary.

The work of fortification, which was independent of every other control than that of Sir Claude MacDonald, was entrusted to the Rev. F. D. Gamewell, who had enjoyed the advantage of two years of technical instruction both in the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and Cornell University, with considerable practice in field work, his studies having been interrupted by physical disability which turned his attention to other subjects. His long and varied experience with numerous forms of Chinese construction, with the management and adjustment of Chinese labour, and with the strength and possibilities of all forms of Chinese materials, made his services invaluable, and it is no exaggeration to estimate them as literally indispensable to the success of the siege defence. From the beginning to the very last hour, he was endowed by means of a greatly overworked bicycle with a limited omnipresence so far as related to the British Legation. Early and late, by day and by night, in the heat and in tropical rains, he gave undivided attention to the single problem of how to render that Legation as nearly

impregnable as the serious natural disabilities of the situation rendered possible.

Other important committees were those which had in charge the food supply, the registration of the Chinese and foreigners, and the furnishing and distribution of labour. Upon the proper working of these various agencies depended the health and even the lives of both foreigners and Chinese.

The first steps taken by the Committee on Food Supply was to examine at once all the native grain-shops within the lines, and to set the Chinese to filling bags of rice which were taken either into the British Legation, or into the Su Wang Fu. Several tons of rice were found, some of it white, but most of it the musty yellow grain which the Pekingese so much use, and which they even profess to like better than the fresh white kind, but which to the uninitiated is particularly hard eating.

A shop at the corner of Legation Street and the canal was found full of new wheat, just from Honan, contained in huge cylindrical baskets made by winding long strips of rush-matting upward as the bin is filled. It was estimated by Mr. Fenn, who had the sole charge of the very important work of milling, and from whose comprehensive account of the food supply these facts are cited, that there were not less than 8,000 bushels of this wheat. Boxer proclamations and Boxer shrines were found in the shop, but nothing did more to defeat the plans of the Boxers than this same wheat, which was the staple of life, both for foreigners and for Chinese, and without which it would have been impossible to protract the siege until the 14th of August.

At first the unground wheat was carried on carts to the British Legation, or by coolies, to be ground there. But

it was afterwards perceived to be much more economical of both time and labour to use the eleven complete mills and the fifteen mules of the grain-shop itself, which was also fitted with harness, baskets, bins, measures and sieves in abundance, so that the finished product could be carried over each day. Thus these mills ground almost unintermittently for seven weeks.

As the situation of the shop became more exposed, and it was necessary to run the gauntlet of many hostile rifles on the way to and fro, it was decided to transfer both mills and grain to the British Legation. About half the wheat was taken to the Fu for the use of the Roman Catholic refugees, but their supply was injudiciously managed and long before the siege was over they ran very short. Four of the mills were still in operation within the stable-court of the British Legation for the benefit of foreigners, while three were left in their original position to grind flour and meal for the Protestant refugees.

At the beginning of the siege the Food Supply Committee took an inventory of all food in the Legation, to form a basis for the issue of rations in case that should become a necessity. Of the rice, wheat, flour, corn-meal, soap, sugar, and butter, rations were issued during the greater part of the siege.*

* The following Indemnity Claim will be of especial interest to those who have traced the fortunes of the besieged in the Legations. It was presented to the British Legation, and was allowed in the list of "Private Claims" to be paid and charged against the Chinese Government. Thus, and thus only, it became true, as was reported to the British Government by the Chinese Minister to that country, that the Chinese Government was "providing food" for the besieged Legations.

The numerous Couriers were paid for out of British Government funds, and the amount was included in the Government's Claim.

Friday, June 22. This morning there was an extraordinary scene, when without warning we saw troops of all nationalities pouring into the side door of the British Legation in the most complete confusion.

Nothing had happened to justify a panic, but it seems that peremptory orders were issued to the Japanese to abandon the Su Wang Fu, upon which they retired to their own Legation. There had been no casualties, and nothing whatever was known of the circumstances; when

PETITION of the Kuang Hsing ("Broad Prosperity") Grain Shop, situated on the East Legation Street, at the Bridge over the Canal, for the compassion of His Excellency the British Minister.

(MATERIAL)	(Piculs)	(Rate) Taels	(Amount) Taels
Red and white wheat	850	5.00	4,250.00
Old rice (fine)	20	5.00	100.00
Old rice (coarse)	30	3.50	105.00
Long white rice	5	9.00	45.00
Best white rice	10	6.00	60.00
Medium white rice	15	5.00	75.00
Glutinous millet	20	4.00	80.00
Millet	10	4.00	40.00
Yellow millet	5	4.00	20.00
Green beans	15	5.00	75.00
White corn-meal	30	2.60	78.00
Yellow corn-meal	10	2.60	26.00
Best white flour	30	4.50	135.00
Sorghum	40	2.00	80.00
Black beans	20	2.80	56.00
Wheat bran	10	1.00	10.00
Yellow beans	15	2.30	48.00
White beans	7	5.00	35.00
Peas	2	3.50	7.00
Small beans	5	3.50	17.50
Total	1,149		5,342.50

Also fifteen mules 500.00

Implements lost, mill-stones broken additional.

to our astonishment, Italians, Austrians, and French came rushing onward, followed not long after by the Japanese and Germans, who abandoned their position on the wall without the firing of a shot. The Americans upon the wall seeing this headlong flight supposed that they were cut off, rushed down the ramp from the wall, accompanied into the British Legation by the Russians. At no other period of the fighting was there anything like a stampede, but this occurrence was so dangerous that it served as an immediate object-lesson in the necessity of a definite head.

It appeared that the Austrian, Captain Thomann, had taken command in Peking as the senior officer in rank. Having heard from an irresponsible source that the American Legation was abandoned, without taking steps to verify the fact, he issued the disastrous orders which produced this chaos, and imperilled the lives of the whole besieged party. Had the Chinese been prompt in perception and in execution, nothing could have saved the garrison from annihilation. As it was, the positions were reoccupied within a short period, and the damage was repaired.

The one valuable outcome of the experience was a request on the part of the ministers of Russia, France, Italy, and Japan, subsequently confirmed by that of the other Powers, that Sir Claude MacDonald should assume charge of the defences, which he did from that time.

During this same afternoon, what appeared to be shells came into the Legation, but some supposed them to be shots from the huge Chinese two-man guns (gingals), 8 or 10 feet long. The leaves and branches of trees were cut off and began to fall on all sides, while the air was alive with the scream of rifle bullets. Another story was current that the shells were fired by the troops of

BRITISH LEGATION, HOUSE OF SECRETARY COCKBURN

Prince Ch'ing from the Ha Ta gate wall at the soldiers of Jung Lu.

Fortification of the house of the First Secretary with boxes of earth and sand bags was begun with great vigour. From the very first, and to some extent throughout the entire siege, there was a marked and an impressive contrast between the conduct of the representatives of the Anglo-Saxons, and that of many of the Continentals, who for the most part sat at ease on their shady verandas, chatting, smoking cigarettes and sipping wine, apparently trusting for their salvation to fate; while their more energetic comrades threw off their coats, plunging into the whirl of work and the tug of toil with the joy of battle inherited from ancestors who lived a millennium and a half ago.

The demand for sand bags began at this time, and work was started by all the women, greatly aided by a few rescued sewing machines, with an energy which speedily turned out vast numbers of them. Lady MacDonald pulled down and sent over almost all the legation curtains and other articles which could be utilized for this purpose. By long experience and steady application they were able to turn out complete one bag every four minutes, and sometimes in three minutes,—several hundred in two hours, two thousand in a single day. On the supposition that sand bags would be less conspicuous to sharp-shooters if of a dark colour, desperate and toilful efforts were made to dye each one in coal dust dissolved in water, until after a day or two the hopelessness of the undertaking was manifest and it was abandoned.

The Italian Legation was given up and burned to-day. The Dutch Legation was also burned, as well as all the houses on each side of the Legation street apparently quite down to the Ch'ien Mên, half a mile distant. Later

in the afternoon there was an alarm of fire on the west and outside of the Legation. The bell on the tower was rung as a signal according to orders, and a scene of delightful confusion ensued. When the flames had been apparently subdued still another building caught fire. It seemed then impossible to save the house of the Chinese Secretary, all of whose goods and numerous books were tumbled out into the roadways and upon the tennis court, forming a very extensive public library.

A line was formed from the central well to the south stable court to pass the leather water-buckets, which, alas! had shrunk and cracked until many of them were either leaky or had lost their handles. They were then supplemented by earthenware, graniteware, iron and tin pitchers, pails, jars, foot-tubs, small bathtubs, teapots and many other incongruous utensils, most of which started from the well only partly filled, and by reduplicated jerking from hand to hand of excited men and women often arrived at their distant destination practically empty. But every one, of whatever nationality, worked energetically, wives of Ministers and Chinese coolies side by side, upon this, as upon other similar occasions, both willing and eager to help.

An order which would exactly suit the Chinese temperament was issued to-day, to use as little water as possible for ablutions, lest the supply should run too low,—a fear which subsequent experience proved to be without grounds. During the whole time of the fire there was a constant fusillade on the part of the Chinese, who hoped to take advantage of the damage to breach the legation walls. During this attack the first life was lost, a British private named Scadding being shot through the head.

To prevent a successful repetition of this incendiary

policy of the Chinese it was decided to pull down a temple near the southwest corner of the Legation. The work was one of considerable difficulty and not a little danger. The quantity of material found there was surprising, including heaps of silk stuffs, which were ultimately transformed into sand bags. From this time many of the servants made their appearance daily girded with silken girdles.

In the course of the afternoon one of the Christians rushed into the yard, covered with dust and glory, bringing a receipt from the Secretaries of the Tsung Li Yamen for the despatch which the Diplomatic Corps had sent yesterday afternoon. The Yamen proposed that any further communication should be forwarded to the Ha Ta gate, but this is far outside our lines and is wholly inaccessible. Forty years of continuous diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese Government has thus achieved the triumphant possibility of securing from the Foreign Office, a mile or so distant, an acknowledgment of the receipt of a document a little less than thirty-six hours after its reception!

Saturday, June 23.—Last night three 2-inch shells fell near the American Legation—a new feature of the attack. An order was issued that confiscated property of no great value may be given to destitute Chinese Christians, while that of more worth is reserved for future disposition. Dr. Ament is placed in charge of all such goods.

There was vigorous firing, especially about the middle of the forenoon, to the west of the Legation, from buildings near where yesterday's fire occurred. While at dinner we heard the fire-alarm bell ringing again. It was a great conflagration in the Hanlin Yuan to the north of the British Legation. The soldiers who began the

work of destruction first set fire to the outer gate on that street, then to the inner gates of each of the four court yards in succession, establishing themselves in a large hall of the third row of buildings where they kept up an incessant rifle-fire upon the Legation during the whole progress of the fire. The floor of that hall was subsequently found covered with their cartridge shells. The several gateways communicated the fire each to the one beyond, until the danger of a clean sweep of the whole premises made the peril of the Legation imminent, for the wind was blowing a gale from the north. To prevent the servants' quarters behind the Minister's house from catching fire appeared almost impossible, for they were not five yards from the nearer building which towered above them.

The British marines first breached the wall into the Hanlin court, and then gained entrance into the hall from which the Chinese soldiers had been firing. This could not long be held, however, for it, too, was soon in flames, furnishing for several hours a grand spectacle, until the massive roof fell in, when the many tons of earth and tiles acted as a partial and a temporary extinguisher.

Meantime every available man was set to work passing buckets of water from the nearest wells, working the small fire-engines, and cutting down trees with much labour and not a little risk of being crushed beneath the trunks or other falling walls. These huge old trees were one of the most efficient means of spreading the flames. A large branch dropping into a yard was soon followed by a blaze in a new spot, since the woodwork was everywhere extremely dry. One of the large halls standing nearest to the Legation had to be pulled down for our own safety. It was a difficult and dangerous undertaking,

WALL OF TARTAR CITY PIERCED BY BRITISH TROOPS

GATEWAY INTO THE FORBIDDEN CITY

for the building was lofty, with large and solid posts and roof-timbers. In this crisis the Fire Committee, headed by Mr. Tours and ably seconded by many others, outdid themselves. Captain Halliday was especially distinguished for his energy and courage. When, a short time later, he was seriously wounded, the defence lost the services for the entire siege of an able and popular officer, whose name was later appropriately affixed to the bomb-proof built over the front gate, which was called by the soldiers Fort Halliday.

About the time of maximum danger the wind suddenly veered to the northwest. greatly encouraging the firemen and their assistants. The structure next in front of the one pulled down was filled with bookcases containing some of the choicest volumes in the Hanlin University, particularly a vast work called after its Imperial patron, Yung Lê Ta Tien, a cyclopædia of Chinese literature of immense compass, never printed, but copied by hand. This is supposed to be the sole copy in the Empire. Owing to the depredations of unprincipled Hanlin scholars it was far from complete, for in China "he who steals a book is not a thief," since literature is honourable, and its tools are often alike indispensable and unattainable.

Scores of the bulky cases were filled with the volumes of this encyclopædia * bound in yellow silk pasted on the board covers, each book nineteen and a half inches long, twelve wide, and about an inch in thickness, having a strip of bright-coloured silk pasted on one cover with the four characters of its title. To the marines, as well as to many others who worked hard to put out the fire and to clear the building threatened, this was nothing more than a sample of the many unintelligible works thrown about

* See Appendix.

in the greatest confusion on that memorable day. But to one who knows even a little of China it was a wonderful relic of the past, worthy of preservation at the hands of the "Foreign Barbarian," even if the Chinese themselves had cared nothing for it.

When it was probable that this building would burn with the rest, the contents of its boxes were unceremoniously tumbled into the yard, where they were soon buried under mounds of other books and lost to sight. An attempt was made to rescue this great cyclopædia of learning, but although several hundred volumes were collected, many others disappeared. Some, with bushels of other volumes and manuscripts, were thrown into the lotus tank and covered with rubbish to prevent them from taking fire in a mass. At a later period, when they had been thoroughly soaked with water from the fire engines, and by numerous rains, so that they had begun to rot, an order was issued to heap earth upon them to prevent them from infecting the neighbourhood. The execution of this command constituted the formal funeral of all that remained of the ancient Imperial Academy of China!

In the entire area of the Hanlin Yuan the only buildings which escaped the fire were a hall called the Ching I T'ing (now empty except for eleven stone tablets on which are cut the sayings of the sage Ch'eng-tzu) and others the hall containing the cyclopædia mentioned, and three small pavilions behind it. The first, like several others, was stored with Hanlin essays and with the stereotype blocks of numerous Chinese works, especially poetry, which, when once ignited, added greatly to the fury of the flames. Those blocks which remained were scattered about the premises or were used as firewood or as materials for barricades.

During this period of excitement the servants' quarters behind the Ministers' house were thought to be doomed, and most of them accordingly had their window and door-frames knocked out and all their contents removed. The dread of fire was so great that no place for all this material was thought to be safe short of the canal. Armies of Chinese men were engaged in furious demolition of woodwork, while long lines of men, women and boys made the journey to the front gate with whatever they could snatch up, such as door frames, blinds, boards and timbers, all of which might much better have been piled up in some safe place for future use. Huge armfuls of packing excelsior were borne triumphantly to the distant water-course, women toddled along with baskets of horse fodder, and one lad, perspiring with the importance of the great occasion, marched onward to victory with a mop in one hand and a fur hat in the other. Nearer the scene of action a devout old coolie was rooted to one spot holding a bamboo pole at an angle, repeating his prayers without intermission.

After two hours of hard work the fire was got under control and the danger was past. The air in several different quarters was heavy with smoke, one fire being apparently the Electric Light Works; another was somewhat nearer the Customs buildings and the Imperial Post Office. A German was brought in from the Russo-Chinese Bank mortally wounded.

A Chinese gun which had been planted in a small alley only 300 yards west of the south stable court, began late in the afternoon to play upon the two-storied house there and inflicted such serious damage as speedily to render it uninhabitable. The marines attacked the gunners with rifles, and the gun after a few discharges was silenced and soon withdrawn.

Sunday, June 24.—One of the most promising graduates in this year's class in the North China College at T'ung Chou started off early this morning with a despatch written to Sir Robert Hart. The bearer was resolved to get through with it to Tientsin, or perish in the attempt. It seemed a hopeless undertaking, and almost every one regrets his brave rashness. Nothing more was heard of him or his message until the siege was over, when he reappeared in Peking accompanying the relief expedition, with a story of adventures, not having been allowed to try to return to Peking from Tientsin.

Another Russian was reported mortally wounded this morning; and an American named King, who was on duty in the Russian Legation, was shot through the head. There are now more than a dozen cases in the hospital.

Word was passed about that white rockets were seen last night by men on the roof at the German Legation, the first at 1 o'clock and the second two hours later. There was a sharp attack by the Chinese on the Su Wang Fu, a gateway being burned, but as it had already been well barricaded with bricks, it could not be forced. Two of our best Chinese were mortally wounded at this time, a Methodist pastor named Wang Ch'eng P'ei, and a helper named Liu, both natives of the same Shantung village, both of them men of excellent character and deeply lamented.

As it was seriously doubted whether the Fu could be held, Sir Claude gave the order to have all the Chinese brought over from there into the buildings between the British and the Russian Legations, in a small alley called Ta-tzu Kuan. The transfer was carried out with very little confusion, some of the women and girls shedding a few tears as it was thus forcibly impressed

upon them that they had literally no abiding place. There was no protecting barricade to guard the passage across the canal, and a mule was shot near the gate, but no casualties among the Chinese occurred.

While these removals were still in progress there was another alarm of fire in a building just west of the stables attacked yesterday. For a time the danger was as great and the confusion even greater than on yesterday. The Russian marines who had been in the court were moved hastily out, and the whole yard was paved with their baggage and much other miscellaneous stuff. The west stable gate had been filled with sand bags, but it was soon again on fire; yet, though burned to a cinder, it was speedily reënforced by a strong brick wall to keep out the expectant Chinese soldiers, who were just outside in force. While the work was going on, bricks hot from the fire were thrown over the wall upon the workmen, our first introduction to one of the most formidable weapons employed by the Chinese during the siege. The marines made a raid to the westward through a hole in the wall to clear out a lot of soldiers, capturing many Mauser rifles, large swords and pikes, which were brought and exhibited at the bell tower. In these operations a British marine was badly wounded, and also Captain Halliday.

A house near the temple pulled down the day before yesterday was found to be in flames, and peril was now greater than ever. As this was not far from the buildings into which the Chinese women and girls had just been moved, and there was risk of a general conflagration in that neighbourhood, they were once more ordered back to the Su Wang Fu. It was discovered that nearly two hundred cases of kerosene were stored in some of the rooms of the south stables, all of which

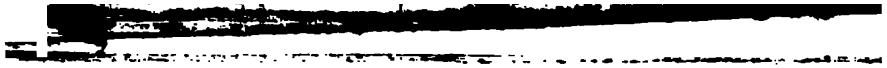
were hurriedly moved out upon the tennis court, where they were subsequently covered with earth. Had the building which contained all this inflammable material been reached by the fire, it would have been impossible to check the flames.

It has been explained that all the Legations except the Belgian, Austrian and British were situated on Legation Street, and three of them upon its south side. The German Legation, especially, was almost immediately under the city wall, which loomed fifty feet above them all, directly commanding every foot of their area. The Germans had, since the 22d, maintained a post upon the wall, by means of a ramp close by, thus interrupting the Chinese communication between the Ch'ien Mên and the Ha Ta Mên; but every other part of the wall was traversed by Chinese soldiers at will, and frequently in great numbers. The American contingent mustered but fifty-three men to guard the Legation premises, and the officers were very reluctant to attempt to hold a long stretch of wall, with a force so inadequate, against unknown thousands of the enemy armed with numerous rifled cannon and the most modern weapons. Minister Conger during the Civil War in the United States had been himself a military man, the First Secretary of Legation, Herbert G. Squiers, had been a lieutenant with fifteen years' experience in the United States Cavalry, and was a thorough soldier, with quick instincts and excellent judgment. It was due to their strenuous insistence that the untenable position was taken and held to the last, and that the physically impossible was made actual.

To-day both the Germans and the Americans made raids on the wall, the latter almost down to the Ch'ien Mên, where the Chinese have mounted cannon. They drew the Colt's automatic gun up the ramp, made an

TARTAR WALL OVERLOOKING AMERICAN LEGATION

LEGATION STREET



advance and a feigned retreat and when the Chinese pursued *en masse* they were mowed down in heaps by the gun discharging more than 400 shots a minute. To ascertain the numbers of Chinese killed in these attacks is wholly out of the question, and it is much the safest way to follow the Chinese custom and record the total as "not a few." On this, as on all other occasions no prisoners were taken, all the wounded being either bayoneted, or thrown over the city wall. It was found that the cannon which it was hoped might be captured was too strongly defended to be got at, and the effort was reluctantly abandoned. An American marine named Kehm was injured by a piece of shrapnel, but not seriously. Another German was buried to-night.

Although this was Sunday, there was until long after dark no possibility of holding a service albeit several were planned. The demand for sand bags was incessant and increasing, and all day long the busy fingers of all the ladies and many of the Chinese women were turning them out literally by the thousand. The theoretical bag is about thirty-two inches in length, by about eighteen inches in breadth, but fuller experiences showed that almost any size and shape would be useful somewhere. There was an abundance of material found in houses about and much was brought in every day from foreign stores researched and from many unlikely places. The fabrics of which these sand bags were made was often such as to cause the ladies who made them to sigh over the "waste" of so much for which it would have been easy to devise other uses. Countless bolts of the finest silks, satins and brocades, worth from five to twelve dollars a yard, swiftly disappeared under busy fingers, and were soon on a level with the meanest sacking or excelsior, and after the first heavy rain the product was

a rapidly disintegrating substance which bore no resemblance to the original. Many tens of thousands of dollars worth of stuffs must have been absorbed in this apparently endless task of supplying the insatiable demands for defences against bullets.

These bags were filled from holes dug in the yard at miscellaneous places wherever earth was obtainable, and the task of packing them occupied a large force from early morning all through the day, and was participated in by men, women and children. The Continentals, hitherto without specific functions, now found something to do, and one might see people of every nationality hard at the unaccustomed and fatiguing work,—a long-robed priest of the Greek Church shoveling earth into a bag held by the wife of a Minister, the string tied by a little Chinese boy, and the bag carried off by the indefatigable and ubiquitous chaplain of the Legation, Mr. Norris, who had just received a wound from a hatchet, while helping to put out fires.

The sand bags were carried to innumerable places in jinrikishas (of which there were a large number brought into the Legation), on a long cart, or on the shoulders of coolies. When once their usefulness was discovered the call for them could not be met, and the tireless labours of the many ladies in many separate buildings scarcely slackened, except when there chanced to be no more materials, or the supply of thread was exhausted. The latter indispensable requisite for machine sewing seemed to be created from time to time as needed, and though occasionally it was reported as absolutely and entirely gone about half a peck of full spools was on hand at the close of the siege. The sand bags reappeared upon the summits of the outer walls, wherever a sentinel was stationed, on the upper stories of the houses in the windows

and all along the front and sides of the hospital, which seemed particularly exposed to bullets.

Monday, June 25.—There was another fire in the night, and an excited Frenchman came very near ringing the alarm bell against orders.

Two Boxers that have been in the gatehouse for several days were this morning taken out and shot, their bodies being thrown into the canal. Heavy firing took place on the east of the Su Wang Fu, which was strengthened by request with twenty men. It is an increasing wonder that such a handful of men as ours can keep such multitudes of Chinese at bay.

Some of the horses have been loose in the yard since the stables were attacked. A lady physician met one of them in the night which had come through the moon gate in the wall, and seemed to be trying to get through the back door into the hospital! Some of the animals have been struck by stray bullets, and to-day the first were killed for "French beef." At one of the messes there was some delay in serving the meat, apologized for by one of the ladies on the ground that the "horse was not yet curried." Most persons become accustomed to the taste and do not dislike it, some refuse it altogether, and a very few "prefer it to anything else." The ornamental rock-work in front of the theatre in the Legation grounds is hollowed out in many places for the reception of large kettles wherein the horse meat is boiled, superintended by a company of cooks girded with aprons made of chintz.

The United States marines on the wall tried last night to surprise the Chinese by a sortie, but they were discovered and retired. The Colt's gun is of no use against fortifications such as the Chinese have now built, and has been brought down into the British Legation. The Chi-

nese are imitating our style of barricades in every particular even to sand bags made of gunny sacks; and as they are not limited either for materials or for labor, their work is sometimes a considerable improvement on ours, and often very quickly and skilfully done.

Many of the private houses within our lines have been searched for material for sand bags. In one rich man's house, which had been deserted, a large quantity of silks and furs of great value was found, which one of the native Christians prevented the neighbours from looting. They were all brought into the Legation and added to the stock of confiscated goods. A party was sent out to the southwest to pull down Chinese houses as a protection against fire, and every such excursion adds to the accumulation of clothing and bedding for the Chinese refugees.

Soon after five o'clock in the afternoon rifle firing on the Legation suddenly ceased, a white flag was put out on the upper bridge over the canal, and a notice was posted on a board fastened to one of the stone posts, to the following effect: "In accordance with Imperial commands to protect the foreign Ministers, firing must stop. A despatch will be delivered at the Imperial canal bridge." After brief delay a messenger with a white flag was sent to the bridge with a reply, likewise fastened to a board, as follows: "In compliance with the Imperial demand the despatch will be received." The bearer proceeded to the bridge, waving his white flag, when he saw many Chinese soldiers pointing their rifles at him. He hastily leaned his board against a post, not observing that the writing was turned inward, and beat a rapid retreat.

The whole operation, from the first display of the white flag until the return of the messenger, consumed but little more than half an hour, but the most sanguine

expectations were at once raised in every mind. Why should the Chinese display a flag of truce unless they had certain knowledge of the speedy arrival of a relieving column? The incident was the fruitful occasion for endless discussions pro and con, hopes and fears alternately belying one another, until those most expert in Chinese affairs owned themselves completely baffled by the strange turn of events.

Tuesday, June 26.—It was very quiet until midnight, when there was a fusillade either from the Carriage Park or the Hanlin. At night, especially, there is such a complex of echo and reëcho from the high Legation walls, as well as those of the Su Wang Fu, etc., that it is utterly impossible, merely by the sound, to form any correct idea as to where the firing really is.

The American position on the wall is one of great difficulty and danger. Last night Sergeant Fanning, one of our best men, was shot in the head while on duty there. The Japanese set fire to some buildings north of the Fu from which they were fired upon yesterday. The messenger who took the letter to the bridge says that yesterday there was no gun platform then in sight, but during the night one was put up, which the Japanese to-day went out and destroyed. There is the beginning of a bomb-proof covering over the front gate defences, and pits are being dug in various places to serve as refuges from the shells in time of extremity. They are long, narrow, and only a few feet deep, roofed with timbers of houses which have been pulled down, with doors, boards, mats and other like covering, with earth thrown on the top. Not one of them is anything more than a particularly damp, dark, shallow cellar, by no means proof against shells, but better than no retreat at all.

A large quantity of wheat was brought in to-day from a shop on Legation Street, and other supplies are turning up daily. There is a continued discussion as to the nature and significance of the "armistice" of yesterday. It is regarded as certain by some, in view of the fact that rifle firing began at four in the afternoon of the 20th, and entirely ceased at five, an hour later, on the 25th, to the sound of many bugles, that the Government does exercise some control over it. The rear of Sir Claude's house is getting much battered by the bullets, and now the church near the centre of the compound has also been struck.

All day long the work goes on of making bags, bags, bags. Little Chinese and foreign children play with jinrikishas and bring sand bags to the front gate after they have been filled, for the bomb-proof building there; and while this is fine sport for the bairns, they actually do much more work proportionally in a given time than grown men.

Several messengers have recently been started off to try to reach the relief column, or to get through to Tientsin, all for high rewards. The last one was taken on the wall and let down into the southern city by a rope.

During these early days of the siege, while everything was still in more or less confusion, there began to be many signs of order emerging from primeval chaos, mainly through the exertions of the various efficient committees appointed by Sir Claude as chief of the Legation and commander-in-chief of the defences.

The normal population of the British Legation consists in summer of only a few score foreigners and Chinese. By the sudden invasion of all nations it was increased to more than four hundred foreigners, and—at the beginning of the siege—to about six hundred Chinese, most of these living under very crowded and abnormal con-

PAVILION IN BRITISH LEGATION GROUNDS, OCCUPIED BY THE HOTEL DE PÊKIN

ditions. In such circumstances the sanitary care of the place became a matter of supreme importance. The well-known slovenly and filthy habits of most Chinese rendered the task one of tenfold greater difficulty than it otherwise would have been, the small, low, damp buildings used as servants' quarters being in many cases potential hot-beds of every kind of malignant microbe.

The artificial hillock which was converted into an outdoor kitchen for the preparation and cooking of great quantities of the flesh of horses and mules, daily butchered there, became the sphere of influence of millions of flies, with which the air was black. The soil also was so saturated with blood and offensive animal matter that but for efficient sanitary treatment this slaughter ground would have been a plague spot. The great consumption of wine accumulated everywhere in a few days a vast number of empty bottles, which it was necessary to have removed, as the danger from splinters of glass, in case of their being struck by the constant showers of fragments of shells, was most serious.

The demolition of walls, the excavation of pits to procure earth for sand bags or for use as bomb proofs, the removal of bricks to build barricades, and the incessant transfer of materials of all sorts from place to place constantly generated litter and rubbish. But under the experienced initiative of Dr. Dudgeon, reënforced by the labours of several other physicians, it was not long before there was a visible improvement. A large staff of men had the word "sanitary" sewed upon their sleeves, and were exempt from being drafted for work on fortifications. Paths were regularly swept, the lawn was reduced to a reasonable state of order, evils complained of were examined and as far as practicable remedied, until, considering the inevitable conditions, the premises presented

in general a creditable appearance. All litter and sewage had to be dumped into the canal as far as possible from the legation gate, and each hard rain removed it to the favoured regions of the southern city. But with all precautions it was not always possible in the execution of order to reach "perfection's sacred height," as the following letter of complaint will show. It was addressed to the General Committee by a native of France, and refers to the passageway across the canal to the Su Wang Fu, which was the only safe route for the latter weeks of the siege.

"*To the Chairman of the General Committee:*

"At the place said [called] "the tunnel" there is now eight o'clock horses' debris deposed. It is very bad for salubrity. Please commity do necessary some observation for filth."

In other words, kindly inspect and reform. Whenever, as at this time, the firing down the canal was dangerously frequent and accurate the disposition of the "horses' debris" and other offal became a matter of extreme difficulty, since it could neither be retained nor got rid of.

XVII

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WALL

WEDNESDAY, June 27.—During the night there was heavy firing on the wall, and just before daylight a general fusillade all around, though perhaps not so severe as that of the previous night. Thousands of shots are aimed at the Legations every night, but no one has been hurt. An American marine, who complains that he has been on the wall for forty-eight hours continuously and that it is impossible to sleep there has just come down and has to stand his watch here. There are several barricades between the Ch'ien Mên and ours, but the Chinese mostly keep behind the rear ones. It is thought that they now have four shell guns, some of which they use well; they are good rifle shooters also. A French volunteer was struck by a ricochet ball in the back of the neck, but will recover. There are said to have been thirty-two casualties thus far. The deaths have been: three French, three Austrians, two Japanese, two American, both sergeants; two Russian, two Italian, three German, one British, eighteen in all.

Among the daily narrow escapes is the case where a bullet passed between the open fingers of a hand, through a fan which was held in the hand; and where a bare-headed volunteer, who was endeavouring to ascertain what was going on by looking out of a second-story window, felt his hair gently rising, as it was swiftly combed by the flying projectile. A bullet passed through the cuff of a sleeve, through the flap of the

jacket, the edge of the trousers, through the flap of the jacket on the other side, and out again, leaving the owner of the clothing none the worse. It is a common saying that "every bullet has its billet," and that it is useless to dodge them, but for the ordinary human being it is practically impossible not to try to do so.

A census has been taken of the foreigners in Peking, with the following result:

	Men.	*Women.*	*Children.*	*Total.*
In the British Legation	191	147	76	414
Outside....	54	2	3	59
Total	245	149	79	473

A British subject had a son born to-day, and Dr. Martin has persuaded him to call the child "Siege," perhaps with the hope that he may eventually be raised.

Nearly all day, especially in the afternoon, there is the same wild and furious fusillade as in the night, bullets whistling everywhere, with almost no reply from our side. The ladies, as usual, are cheerful and busy through it all, as if nothing uncommon were going on. About four o'clock a sudden and violent attack was made on the northwest, the bugle calling the Chinese to arms as often before. Soon after, for no perceptible reason, the firing abated. In a court north of the Su Wang Fu the Chinese tried to breach the wall, the Austrians being on guard on one side and the Japanese on the other. The latter waited until the Chinese had got inside, when they opened on them a cross fire, killing seventeen or more of their number.

Two nights ago, after the Imperial placard had been displayed, the Japanese found their outer walls furnished with scaling ladders, which they demolished. Rags

soaked in kerosene and tied to poles, had also been provided for lighting more fires. Every one is delighted with the Japanese as soldiers, strong and plucky, and never making any complaints that we hear of.

It has been suggested that to-day's attack may have been intended as a celebration of the first day of the sixth moon.

Yesterday three little Roman Catholic children strayed outside the passageway in front of the Fu, and two out of the three were shot dead. This afternoon handfuls of bullets are exhibited that were picked up near the church and the cooking kettles behind. It is a standing marvel that they do so little harm.

About 11 P. M., there was brisk firing on the northwest, and the bell tolled an alarm. The Chinese bugle sounded in many places, and there was a rain of bullets overhead for a few moments only. Then came the order to disperse, and the rest of the night was comparatively quiet.

Thursday, June 28.—A story is current this morning of a Chinese who has got through from Tientsin, and who brings the word that our relief army is starting "next Monday in three columns." The country about Peking is said to be full of troops, and it is very difficult to get in, and still more so to get out. There were six casualties yesterday, one fatal. The Chinese have got a gun in operation against the Su Wang Fu, and are now throwing bombs into it, so that gentlemen had to go over to get the schoolgirls out of a building which was in danger, and is now in flames. A French marine has just been brought in killed, and another wounded who died soon after. There are now twenty-two cases in the hospital, and the place is in considerable danger from the bullets, the windows being blocked with sand bags.

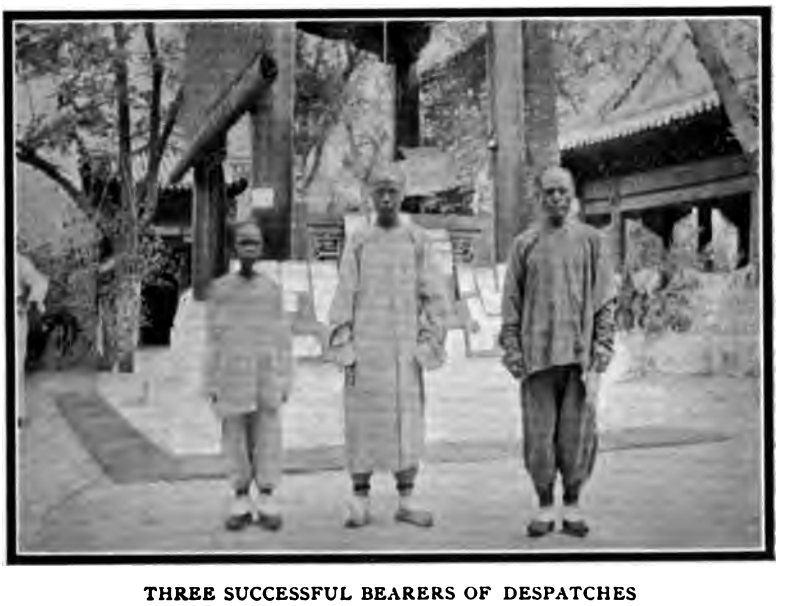
Preparations were made for a general attack expected at noon, and there was vigourous shooting for many hours. Toward evening an alarm was sounded of another general attack, when a gun opened fire on the house in the south stables. The Italian gun was hurried over from the Su Wang Fu, and taken up into the second story of the threatened building. The fire was from the houses surrounding the open square known as the Mongol Market, where the Chinese have made a new gun platform. The building seemed about to be demolished, but the attack ceased as suddenly as it began.

The messenger sent out three days ago returned, having only gone seventy li [twenty-one miles.] He was arrested and tied up several times on suspicion. He met crowds of refugees flying from Tientsin. He had heard in general that the Taku forts had been taken, and that a large foreign army was on the way to Peking.

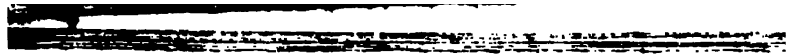
Friday, June 29.—At 3 A. M. a party of marines under Capt. Wray went out to try to capture the gun which did so much mischief yesterday, but although they got within a short distance many rifles opened on them, and they retreated. Only two marines were wounded slightly. The attack was apparently ill-planned and was a complete failure. All night long there was a perpetual fusillade, so that it was impossible to sleep.

The two-story building attacked yesterday evening shows the effects of a destructive cannonade which need not be continued much longer to bring the house entirely down. There were two guns at work, of different calibre. Not all of the shells exploded, perhaps none of them, but one killed a mule which is to be served up to-day. A messenger came over from the Fu to say that the shells have made a large breach in the rear wall, and now in the front one also. The gun is nearer, and

TARTAR WALL WITH BARRICADE



THREE SUCCESSFUL BEARERS OF DESPATCHES



the shots are more frequent. The schoolgirls have been moved entirely out of the Su Wang Fu into a yamen to the south, where the Roman Catholic Christians have been and where they are far too crowded.

A Japanese has been killed working the Italian gun. Soon after noon there was fire seen in the Fu, which was found to be the great rear hall, and which could not be put out. Amid fierce yells of the Chinese soldiers, who saw victory in sight, the attack was pressed. One of the Japanese came over to the British Legation from the Su Wang Fu to borrow some fire extinguishers, and remarked that last night, when the Chinese came in, the Japanese poured hot water on them, and now he would like something to "irritate their skin!" The courage of the Japanese and the other defenders of the Fu keeps the Chinese from gaining more than a limited advantage by the fire they set.

One of the single ladies was over in the Fu the other day when there was a fierce attack. The Christians were much alarmed by the attack, but had the inspiration to sing the doxology. The Japanese soldiers stopped firing long enough to inquire what it meant, and then applauded them with cheers. A highly esteemed British marine named Phillips was struck to-day by a spent bullet, while standing near the front gate, and was instantly killed. Dr. T. M. Lippett, surgeon of the American contingent, was also hit by a bullet while standing on the legation steps by the side of the Minister, receiving a dangerous fracture of the thigh bone which prevented him from taking any further part in the defence.

Toward dark a wounded Italian was brought in, and the French sent over to ask assistance in a sharp attack on their Legation about 6:30 P. M. Many Chinese have been carried in disabled, and have been taken to the Chi-

nese hospital, which is over in the Fu. Cartloads of materials are brought from one of the foreign stores, dishes and dry goods especially.

To-day a beginning was made for a free laundry in Lady MacDonald's kitchen, kindly surrendered for the purpose. The workmen are nearly all entirely new to the business, and it is understood that no ironing is even to be attempted. The requirements in the way of soap are phenomenal, but in some way they always seem to be met. Fixed hours are appointed for receiving clothes, but to this many pay no attention, and are deeply grieved to find that they have arrived after the quota is filled. There is a limit to what even the most inexperienced washermen are able to do in disposing of soiled garments under siege conditions. Two thousand pieces each week suggest such limits. When the demands are a trifle less urgent the public may be allowed to come each day from half past five to half past six o'clock. But as soon as congestion sets in the bulletin board notifies the public that "no washing will be received to-day."

It is in sorting and ticketing the enormous mass of clothing that the genius of Mr. Brazier and his very competent Chinese assistants appears most clearly. Every customer has his number in a series for the day on which he brings clothes, and every article has the same number tied or sewed to it written on a slip of cloth. When all the numbers correspond with the facts, that is the ideal condition of things. But life is not all a bed of roses, tags will get mis-sewn, pieces will get mis-sorted. This makes every delivery day a dramatic occasion, in which the patience of the superintendent and the insistence of his clients are put in interesting competition—each side invariably winning. When pieces become strays and mixed with the endless piles of other articles, alike yet

different, then also there is a test of the power of business methods with pure fate, the latter not infrequently carrying off the prize.

That such an enterprise could have been carried through at all in cloudy weather and in the rain, with the inadequate accommodations, unskilled labour, lack of appliances, amid incessant rifle and cannon firing, in which on more than one occasion the workmen were wounded, was a triumph of Occidental superiority to circumstances and a distinct tribute to the energy and ability of the Anglo-Saxon.

About 10 P. M. there was a severe attack on the northwest side of the Legation, made by some soldiers who broke into the Hanlin Yuan. A heavy rainstorm came on, with loud thunder and vivid lightning. This seemed to increase the fury of the Chinese distinctly, a phenomenon noticed on many other occasions. They appeared to consider each distinct clap of thunder as a signal of the approval of the whole Chinese Pantheon, and instead of retiring during the rain, as all Chinese have always done from the earliest ages until now, they redoubled their exertions, often suspending them altogether when the storm abated. This particular attack was more vicious than any that had preceded it, and will dwell in the memory of many long after other incidents of the siege are forgotten.

Thousands of cartridges must have been fired on that single occasion, but not one is known to have taken any effect. An alarm of a general attack was rung, and every one turned out in the pouring rain, but after a delay of fifteen minutes it was announced that the Chinese had been driven out, and quiet was once more restored.

Saturday, June 30.—Every one is talking of the attack last night. The American Minister, who was in many

severe battles in the American Civil War, says he never experienced anything like the terror of such a continuous onset as this. In ordinary battles one side either wins or loses, but in this case for us it is a perpetual battle, with extinction in near prospect as soon as resistance ceases. An experienced German officer, not likely to be deceived, saw last night "searchlights, both fixed and conical," supposed to be those of a relief party. In all these days not a single word has come from the Pei T'ang (Northern Cathedral), but the sound of firing there is constant. There is an unverified rumour that the Japanese have received word from Tientsin about their troops.

Last night a bullet came through one of the windows of the church, but without hitting any one. Early in the morning there was an attack upon the French Legation, and a hundred coolies were sent for, the firing being for a long time very brisk: two marines were severely wounded. The French are said to be somewhat disheartened by their heavy losses, and no wonder. An American marine was shot in the arm this morning, but was able to walk to the hospital.

Toward noon it was reported that the German barricade on the wall could be no longer held, and no wonder, for their losses was terrific. [The total force was originally one officer and fifty men, and on this fatal day four of them were shot dead while on the city wall, while another died in the hospital ten days later. Three others were shot, one in the face, one in the head and one in the thigh, ultimately recovering.] It is thought that there are three guns attacking the Germans, one near the Ch'ien Mên, and probably two north of the Su Wang Fu. British marines went over to help the Germans, but were shelled out.

The guns to the north have started up again this morning and shells are whizzing everywhere, many of which are aimed so high that three-fourths of them must have fallen in the southern city. This continued to some extent during all the time that shells were thrown at us and must have been peculiarly depressing to the numerous Chinese on every side, who without the least warning found themselves savagely attacked by flying missiles, of which they have a special dread. There can be little doubt that the number accidentally killed in this way was very large.

The covering of the bomb-proof at the front gate of the Legation is being strengthened. Earth is brought in bags made of damask linen, and when they are emptied they are returned to be refilled. The jinrikishas continue most useful in the transportation of these materials for defence, and the small boy is largely in evidence as the motor power. Stuff for sand bags comes in from the elegant satin hangings of the Su Wang Fu. Some of the civilian Italian volunteers on duty there often return to the British Legation loaded with piles of spoil, such as fancy clocks with models of steam engines incorporated in them, and elegant garments in quantities.

A Chinese from the Fu says that in a water jar near where the fire took place yesterday a large quantity of powder had been found. It was brought over to the British Legation and at once put to use. An old woman, one of the refugees from the Southern Cathedral, was seen to-day coming out of the outer gate of the Fu, quietly toddling up toward the barricade at the upper canal bridge. She was hailed to know where she was going, and replied serenely that she was "going to buy things," oblivious of the existing condition of affairs. She had become dazed by her troubles, and had ap-

parently lost her bearings. A Chinese came to the gate-house and asked for change for a dollar, as he wished to pay a coolie ten cents. He received ninety cents, all the change that could be collected, and went off quite satisfied, as otherwise he might have had to give away the entire dollar. One of the oldest residents of Peking remarked to-day that in all his life in China he had never yet found a cash on the street, but now they were lying about and of no use.

A shell struck a tree to-day between Sir Claude's house and the rear of the pavilion, and cut off a limb four inches in diameter, the fragments of the shell falling on the roof and breaking up several tiles. It is incomprehensible that when the Chinese have the range like this they do not make more and better use of it.

We have been in the Legation ten days, but only to-day has the first work been done on making a safe crossing of the canal to the Su Wang Fu. It is a route perpetually in use by both foreign and Chinese soldiers and civilians, and ought from the first to have been as safe as London Bridge, but it is still exposed to fire in several directions.

Sunday, July 1.—An American marine named Tucher who was killed yesterday on the wall by a bullet through the head was buried last night in the Russian Legation. A Russian marine insisted upon digging the grave himself, picking out the pieces of bricks, and smoothing the earth for a pillow, saying: "He was my brother—I served with him on the wall." Tucher was an excellent shot, and had done a great deal of execution among the Chinese soldiers, but was himself killed by a bullet through a loophole.

Within the past few days a bakery has been added to the other industries of the British Legation, superintended by the omnipresent chairman of the General Committee.

This involves a great deal of work and planning, and after the best is done there may be failure,—as yesterday when the yeast failed, and the result was a batch of particularly hard bread. The rainy season is approaching; there was a shower last night, and to-day the clouds are thick and the weather cool. An order to shoot all dogs which are not tied up made much commotion, and is very spasmodically executed.

In the course of the morning word came that both the Germans and the Americans are giving up their posts on the wall. There is a call for 400 sand bags in one place, and enough others elsewhere to make 2,000 in all. Every nationality worked with extreme vigour in filling the bags, which were taken on carts, in jinrikishas, and on the shoulders of men, to the American Legation, to help in a barricade across the street, and for use on the wall. At one time during the day the Americans left their position altogether for more than half an hour, but the Chinese did not discover it, or suspected a trick, and the post was soon reoccupied. The Germans also lost the wall, retook it and again lost it with one man killed, and it was soon after occupied by the Chinese soldiers.

It is reported this morning that the French Legation was given up, and a retreat upon the strongly fortified Hotel de Pékin effected, but the Legation was retaken later. The fearless manager of the hotel, M. Chamot, has a staff of Chinese servants who bring over the meals of the guests of the hotel, many hundred yards distant, three times a day, even through a shower of stray bullets, and when pieces of shell are falling everywhere. One would not have expected any Chinese to display such nonchalant courage, especially as some of them have been wounded, or perhaps killed, and in consequence their number is diminished by so many. To an inquiry whether

they did not consider it highly unsafe, one of them replied simply: "The meals of the foreigner are very important."

The Italian gun has been mounted at a window of the library in the second story of the students' quarters, and attacks some barricades in the Carriage Park through an opening well filled with sand bags. The books are scattered all about the place, many of them piled up as a barricade, and one of Bishop Ellicott's works is used to chock the wheels of the gun carriage.

The American Colt's automobile is hereafter to be placed in the British Legation outer gate, as being less liable to get jammed than what Lord Charles Beresford calls the "obsolete" Nordenfelt, the British gun. But even this is much better than the equipment of the Russians, who left their gun on the platform at Tientsin and brought up some shells which do not fit anything else. When through a misapprehension of orders the Russian Legation was abandoned on one of the early days of the siege, these shells were prudently let down a well so as to prevent their being of any service to the Chinese. As they turned out to be defective in construction they were spoiled by the soaking and later had to be taken apart and laboriously refilled.

Capt. Wray, in command of a British party on the wall, was wounded in the arm; a British marine also at the same time and place, and two others in Su Wang Fu, while a Frenchman was brought in with a severe wound, and many Chinese who have been helping to carry sand bags in various places were likewise disabled. Our hospital is getting very full, and the growing aggregate of losses is extremely depressing, for there is an evident limit to what we can bear, and the total deaths to date are reported as thirty-two.

During the afternoon a party was organized to make a raid on the Krupp gun which, firing at short range, has been doing so much mischief to the north of the Fu. The exact location of the gun was uncertain, and the way to reach it likewise a matter of conjecture. It involved co-operation between Italians under Lieutenant Paolini, who was in command, Japanese under Colonel Shiba, four Austrians, two Frenchmen, seven British marines, and five British students. The Japanese forced a way to the designated place, but the position was untenable and they retired with one man killed and two others wounded.

From a lookout on the north end of the stables in the British Legation there was a view of the whole proceedings. A lane running from the Canal eastward, opposite the Hanlin, was chosen as the point of attack by the mixed forces (including sixteen Italians) just mentioned. A hundred yards up the lane was situated a high Chinese barricade, near to which was a hole in the wall of the Fu, from which attempts had been made to enter the lane previously. Lieutenant Paolini formed his men and dashed up this line, upon which a withering fire was opened upon them from behind the barricade, as well as from loopholes in houses on the northern side of the lane.

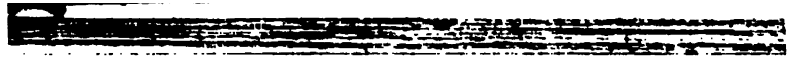
Lieutenant Paolini was wounded in the arm, two Italians fell dead, and the column was driven back, but perceiving this hole in the wall, of the existence of which they had not previously been aware, they struggled with each other to get through it. A British marine escaped badly wounded down the lane. Five British students, Russell, Bristow, Hancock, Flaherty, and Townsend who had volunteered for this effort, acted with great discretion. Russell ordered them to take shelter behind the projecting wall of a house until after all others had already escaped, a man at a time they could make the

rush across the lane to the hole in the wall, the others firing at the barricade while one man was making the passage. Mr. Bristow, with great coolness, picked up a rifle which a marine had dropped, since the loss of a single weapon was a serious matter. All the students escaped unhurt except Mr. Townsend, who received two bullets, one in the back of the shoulder, and another in the thigh. The young men behaved like veterans, and the bravery and dash of the participants were conspicuous. But the unfortunate result was the loss of two Italians killed (the body of one of whom was not recovered), one Japanese killed, a British student interpreter wounded, and also two British marines—a heavy penalty to pay for an error in judgment at a time when every man is necessary to the defence.

The grain shop on Legation Street has hitherto been used as the best place to grind out wheat, as the stones are already in position, but the passage is becoming daily more dangerous. The house of the accountant is barricaded on the whole length of the veranda to a great height for fear of shells, so that there must be a very slight circulation of air within. One of the impromptu additions to the defences there is an ice chest filled with bricks, on which are packing cases of earth. One of the small cypress trees near the cooking boilers for horse meat has a string of cash hanging confidingly upon it which no one seems to disturb. Money is of no more value to us at present than to Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday.

The evident imperative necessity of holding the city wall behind the American Legation makes it vital to defend from bullets the passage of the street at the base, (which is at present commanded by other parts of the wall), and also the long ramp leading up to the top, the

THE RAMP, LEADING TO THE AMERICAN POSITION ON THE CITY WALL



traversing of which is highly dangerous, shots being constantly fired whenever any one goes either up or down. It is for this purpose that so many sand bags are required. These must be put into position at the edge of a ditch that has been dug across the roadway as a partial protection, but the work must be done at night to avoid drawing a steady and murderous fire from innumerable Chinese rifles in several different directions.

The best way to protect the ramp seemed to be by putting up a series of zigzags built of the bricks taken from the facing of the city wall itself, which were of huge size and weight. But the mortar with which they were laid proved to be far superior to that usually met with in Chinese construction, so that to dig out a single brick was a long and laborious process, and thousands were needed. Here, as in all other work required by the defences, at least fifty per cent. of the time of the Chinese was lost through the lack of suitable tools, and of the time which was actually employed often a full half was wasted because the tools which were to be had were of such inferior quality.

Whenever the Chinese began firing on suspicion that something was being done in the way of making barricades, the Chinese workmen soon learned not to expose themselves as at first, but to keep their heads well below cover. It was wonderful what patience they displayed under the disadvantages of working so hard in the dark, on such unyielding material, much of the time exposed to fire. Whenever the fire became severe they crouched around their leaders, sometimes clasping the legs of the foreign overseers whom they had learned to trust, as if in this way they were safer than when separated from them.

There are only twenty-six American marines holding

the Chinese attacking army at bay, and the commanding officer, Capt. Myers, has been up there for a week together! The discomforts were almost as pronounced as the dangers, for there was scant room, imperfect shelter from heat and rain, no intermission of the irregular Chinese rifle firing day and night, and the constant wearing sense of heavy personal responsibility for interests which it was impossible properly to guard, and fatal to leave unguarded.

Monday, July 2.—The morning is wet and the gentle drizzle shows that the rainy season has arrived. The "searchlight" was seen again last night, and speculation even ventures to identify it with that of the "Terrible," supposed to be with Admiral Seymour's force. The Chinese cannon has begun again this morning, and the Italian machine gun is sent over to the Hanlin grounds. The Chinese now mostly have a white strip on their arm with the word "Christian" printed on it, thus to some extent carrying out the suggestion of Yü Hsien, who wished the Government to compel all adherents of foreign religions to make that fact plain to every one by their dress.

The ladies are busy making sand bags out of Ningpo silks and tapestry, each bag of the value of about $10 Mexican. There was a large fire last night in front of the Shun Chih gate, next west from the Ch'ien Mên, but there is no guessing what was burned. There is still another fire to the southeast, perhaps outside the city.

The Su Wang Fu is getting untenable, and there are fears that it cannot be held. The Japanese are bringing some of their provisions from there into the British Legation, which shows that they have their anxieties about the outcome. An attaché of their Legation was shot in the

head while building a barricade. The Japanese are most plucky, occupying a dangerous position and having always large loopholes to shoot from, although smaller ones would answer just as well. Most of them have bandages of some kind on, and they do not give up unless it is imperative.

The northeastern wall of the British Legation is to be strengthened, lest we lose the Fu and the Chinese shell us from the side. The large flag tiles in front of Sir Claude's house are being torn up to-day to build an additional wall in case the Chinese get into the Fu and fire across from a new angle. The proprietor of the larger of the two foreign stores has given permission to any one who wishes to loot the place, and the marines and others have been helping themselves to the articles which they most fancied. As a result gramophones, phonographs and music boxes are in operation in the gate houses of the Legations as well as on the sentry posts.

Russian sailors have several times come into the yard where the school girls are, to their great fear and to the disgust of the ladies, who have complained to the Russian Minister.

Tuesday, July 3.—Last night one of the correspondents sent off a thousand-dollar telegram giving the names of the killed and wounded to date, but it was never heard of again. Heavy rain fell early this morning and continued during the forenoon, everybody and everything being wet through. It is a marvel how the Chinese contrive to cook out of doors at all. The hospital is very full with about fifty patients, and even the long chairs of the nurses are occupied by the wounded. Last night there seemed to be some one posted in a tree who had the range, and while operating it was necessary to have mats

hung before the windows and put the lights on the floor. Most of the waiting on the patients has to be done in complete or semi-darkness, as it is not safe to show a lamp anywhere, or bullets whiz!

The canal has become a torrent, with three or four feet of water in it, and there is no crossing to the Fu through the tunnel. The rain is deprecated because it is certain to delay our troops, on account of the heavy artillery. One competent authority says it would only hinder them one day, but others say ten. A rifle shot to-day carried away the halyards of the flagstaff at the main gate, which is ordered taken down and the colours are nailed to the mast.

The Chinese working party that went to the wall last night was unable to build the zigzags as the Chinese had the range of the ramp and the bullets were too thick. The last part of the night they worked to strengthen the barricades just wrested from the Chinese. The British and Russians are assisting in holding the wall.

For some days the position of our defenders on the city wall has been growing worse. The Chinese have been pressing forward in great numbers, and their shell guns and rifles, firing both ways, have made the American position exceedingly difficult to hold. The top of the wall is flat and between thirty and forty feet wide. Ramps for ascent always occur in pairs and are inclined toward each other like the limbs of a truncated letter A, the space between the points where the ramps reach the top being thirty or forty yards in length and directly opposite one of the massive bastions by which at regular distances the wall is strengthened.

The American barricade has been injudiciously located at the head of the first ramp, leaving the other and the surface of the bastion undefended. The Chinese have

built several barricades between the Ch'ien Mên on the west and ours and have been all the while creeping nearer and nearer with a wall curving like the vicious tail of a scorpion on the surface of the bastion, where they are out of reach of fire. At the end they have just constructed a high tower, which is only a few feet distant from our post, and from this inaccessible eminence they now hurl down huge bricks on the heads of our men, who are unable to reply.

That the Chinese must be driven out or the wall abandoned was evident to Mr. Conger, Mr. Squiers and Sir Claude MacDonald, all men of military experience and of sound judgment. The execution of this important task was committed to the commander of the American contingent, Capt. John T. Myers, a cool-headed and capable officer, who entered into the plan with great spirit. In this movement twenty-seven British (including one civilian volunteer), fifteen American marines and as many Russians took part.

The marines distinguished themselves by the reckless courage which they displayed throughout. Capt. Myers in a few pointed words called their attention to the difficulties to be overcome and to the fact that the lives of hundreds of women and children depended upon the result of this encounter. He then led the way by overleaping the American barricade, when they came at once upon the end of the barricade of the enemy, fortunately incomplete and easily overthrown. He was followed by the British and Americans, the Russians having been sent for an attack upon the enemy's ramp on the inner side of the wall. The attacking party was now behind the curving wall of the enemy's fortification, protected from fire until they were immediately upon the enemy, whose surprise was complete.

The foremost man was Turner, an American marine and a skillful sharpshooter, who while making the charge was shot through the head and instantly killed, as was his comrade, Thomas. Capt. Myers accidentally received in the lower leg, from a Chinese spear, a wound which proved painful and dangerous, and which together with an ensuing attack of typhoid fever disabled him from further active service during the siege. A British corporal was wounded in the instep, and a Russian was also disabled. The rout of the Chinese was as complete as their surprise. A Lieutenant-Colonel, named Ma, of Tung Fu Hsiang's army, to which the troops belonged, was killed and his banner as well as another captured, besides numerous rifles and much ammunition. Fifteen of Tung Fu Hsiang's men were killed, and probably as many more were wounded.

The Chinese were driven quite a distance down the wall and their barricade was at once occupied and never afterward lost. The moral effect of this gallant action was certainly not less than its military importance. It was probably owing to this incident, as well as to other similar sorties on the part of the Japanese and others, that the great Chinese army attacking the Legations were never quite able to see their way clear to exterminate the foreign barbarians at one sweep, justly fearing that, in the process, most of them might be permanently incapacitated from further performance of the ancestral rites so dear to the heart of every disciple of the Sages.

And here one may remark upon the immeasurable inaptitude of the Chinese during the siege. There were occasions, as on the day when the gathering at the British Legation took place, when it would have been easy by a strong, swift movement on the part of the numerous Chinese troops to have annihilated the whole

AMERICAN SENTRY TURNER, METHODIST COMPOUND

AMERICAN BOARD MISSION, PEKING

body of foreigners, and without serious risk to the attackers, but the opportunity was not seized. For several days they controlled the city wall behind the Legations throughout nearly the whole of its length, and could have massed there thousands of troops, and all their artillery in a night, rendering it impossible to drive them out, or to avoid extermination by their fire. This was what those abroad who knew the conditions, but had not heard the facts, expected.

At Tientsin the Chinese astonished all who had gauged their military talents by the experience of the war with Japan, and fought savagely, so that the allies suffered severely before Tientsin city was captured.

But there was nothing of this sort at Peking, for though the attacks were fierce and murderous, the Chinese soldiers did not expose themselves. Upon unnumbered occasions, had they been ready to make a sacrifice of a few hundred lives, they could have extinguished the defence in an hour. Yet they lost five or ten times as many men by sharp-shooting as they would have done in a rush. The artillery was badly served with poor shells, and the firing was inconstant and often wild, though no one wished at the time to criticize it on that account. Yet when the siege was over countless new Krupp guns were discovered which might have been employed simultaneously with deadly effect. Some of them had never even been set up.

XVIII

DARK DAYS

WEDNESDAY, July 4.—About half past nine last night a furious fusillade began on the northwest, west and southwest, singly and then together, which resembled a general attack. Every moment it was thought that the bell would ring an alarm, but this kept up with brief intervals until daylight. There was drizzling rain all night, and although not much water fell yet everything was again soaked through. No sign of the sun and, except for cards with a little flag drawn on them by a patriotic citizen, there was no sign of any celebration of the day.

The United States Legation itself is considerably demoralized. Several Chinese who worked at night on the wall, are asleep in the secretary's room. The office of the Minister is in dire confusion, and covered with dust from the bricks and glass broken by the bullets. Legal digests, Congressional Records, the report of the Blackburn Commission, United States Statutes at Large, overturned ink-bottles, waste-paper baskets and curtain poles, litter the floor, while a bullet which passed through a transom has quite perforated the framed Declaration of Independence, between the twelfth and thirteenth lines where the eccentricities of King George are criticised.

Last night distinct artificial lights were seen, unlike those of the night before, which are now supposed to have been heat lightning. The Chinese in the Fu have

been a good deal alarmed at the attacks there, but they have been told that the girls in the houses near the Russian Legation are no safer. To-day one of the girls who was inside a building in the Fu was struck in the leg by a piece of shell, and died of a hemorrhage. This was the only life lost among the whole number of schoolgirls, and unlike most of the others the child was with her own parents.

The Chinese plan is to break down the defences of the Fu; but there are inner defences to be taken, so that it can hold out yet, and we are glad to know that it is to be defended at all hazards. Another Italian was killed there to-day, making a total of forty-three deaths thus far. The Japanese are giving some of the captured guns to the Chinese Christians who have volunteered, and they are standing their watches side by side. Yesterday one of the Japanese died in the hospital of hernia of the brain, but as it was supposed that he was in articulo mortis he was entered on the records as dead the day previous.

Some of the people living on Legation Street who have been penned up inside our lines have on hand a stock of pickles and other sauce, which they are now peddling out every day, the first sign of mercantile life we have met. The shelling on the wall is as brisk as in the Legation. It is reported that a shell from the Ha Ta Mên gun of the Chinese passed entirely over our barricade and struck that of the Chinese far beyond, making the bricks fly. Our men gave a responsive, and derisive cheer.

Thursday, July 5.—Although it was comparatively quiet last night, there was an attack on the French Legation for half an hour or so, early in the morning. M. Chamot, the manager of the Hotel de Pékin has forfeited

his place with walls ten or fifteen feet thick in places, adapted to withstand cannon balls. But the roof is the weakest part, and he reports this morning that under the heavy shell fire it is in ruins. Some of the pieces of shell brought over are of a new and dangerous pattern. It was reported that a coolie of his was shot to-day and two yesterday. It is a wonder that any remain. A young boy, who is one of Dr. Ament's flock, disguised as a beggar, his messages wrapped in oiled paper at the bottom of an old dish of gruel, was let down over the wall last night.

Improved sanitary arrangements are going into operation in the Legation, and empty bottles in great quantities are being removed and thrown into the canal. For once nobody cares for them. Over in the Fu there are great crowds in every building, many of them sick, and the sickness is certain to increase unless their sanitary matters are better looked after. A committee has been appointed to see what can be done for the improvement of the sanitary conditions, which are now quite neglected.

There are many and anxious conjectures as to what it can be that hinders the coming of the troops from Tientsin, and it is feared that it may be the jealousy of the Powers among themselves as to who shall take the lead. It is feared that the Chinese representatives may have deceived some of the Powers into the belief that the Ministers are being carefully "protected," and the board put up on the bridge on June 25 is cited as a proof; though it seems unlikely that any one will credit this.

There are fresh barricades put up in the Hanlin, and David Oliphant of the British Legation, who remained behind to cut down a tree, was shot through the liver, and died in a short time. He had worked heroically upon the defences, with the grit of a true Briton, and was

universally and deeply lamented. A German brought in a new kind of shell, unexploded, the mere weight of which would make it formidable. Many of those heretofore employed have seemed to have little force, and the damage has been trifling compared with what might have been expected.

One of our best and most valued native pastors, while on an errand with a party of others to bring grain from the shop on Legation Street, was fired at by one of the German marines near by. The Russians also came near killing some of the Christians by mistake as they were at work on a wall, and Sir Claude in conference with the French Minister has issued an order that every Christian shall have a badge, as most of them already have.

The outer rampart of the front gate is being strengthened with sand bags plastered with mud, which make a very effective barrier to bullets, and would even discourage a Chinese shell. A new gun has been put up on a platform inside the Imperial City at the head of the canal, and the solid shot and shells go anywhere and everywhere, many of them flying high as if meant for the southern city. An order has just been issued forbidding the disgraceful looting of the foreign store, which should have been stopped before it began. It has not only demoralized the marines, but civilians as well. The temptation to loot is practically the strongest in the world to the majority of the human race. This afternoon Dr. Gilbert Reid, while passing along Legation Street, was shot in the leg.

Friday, July 6.—During the night, which has now become the favourite time for the Chinese attacks, there was a great deal of rifle-firing and a few cannon shots. Yesterday afternoon one of their solid shot struck a Chinese cart near the Minister's house and overturned it.

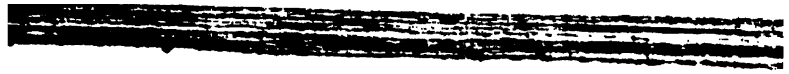
A Chinese woman was asleep in the next cart. From both the Legation and the wall heavy cannonading was heard last night to the southeast, and the usual hopeful inferences are drawn as to the proximity of our troops.

Some of the Chinese say that there is a reason for the expenditure on the part of the enemy of so many tens of thousands of rifle bullets in the spaces of the upper atmosphere. They can only account for our phenomenal resisting powers on the ground that we are protected by a supernatural being (an entirely rational hypothesis under the circumstances), and they are now aiming in a general wholesale way at "the prince of the power of the air," but to us it appears that he is our enemy in a variety of ways, and that it would be an error of judgment for the Chinese to injure him in any considerable degree!

To-day the Japanese made another sortie to capture the Chinese shell gun, which has proved so annoying. Like the previous attempts it completely failed, and the men were ordered back, Capt. Ando, commanding the volunteers, being severely wounded. The Japanese laid the blame on the delay of the Italians coöperating in making their start and upon the refusal of the Chinese coolies to try to drag away a gun of great weight under a hot cross-fire. It is said that the Chinese like to work for the Japanese, who never kick and cuff them about as the manner of some is, and make a low bow to them when a difficult piece of work has been well done. The Japanese were obliged yesterday to retire some little distance from one position to a better one, but feel the great insecurity of their hold upon the Fu as a whole, owing to the risk of fires set by the Chinese, who manifest the greatest zeal and ingenuity in this kind of warfare.

A shell from the Ch'ien Mên exploded over three of

SECRETARY COCKBURN'S HOUSE, BOMB PROOF AND GUN PLATFORM, BRITISH LEGATION GROUNDS



the American marines in the main gate of the Legation, but, strange to say, none of them was hurt, although one of them expressed the conviction that it was "as close a call as I ever want." The Russian and the American flagstaffs were both carried away, the latter by the shell just mentioned, which made a huge hole in the gate-house roof, the flagpole falling with the tiles.

Capt. Ando died soon after he was brought to the hospital. He was an able and very popular officer and had done much to help on the defence, so that he will be greatly missed, especially as the numbers of the Japanese diminish so fast. Still another gun platform is being put up on the wall of the Imperial city, which means more mischief for us.

Another courier was started off to-night with the message, "Hasten, relief imperative." A student in the Russian Legation who had taken too much strong liquor charged at the Chinese barricade and was instantly shot, as were several of the enemy who tried to get his body.

Saturday, July 7.—There was a slight but persistent firing last night at the Fu, enough to keep some awake. There was nothing of importance on the wall, but a Chinese was slightly injured. There are reaffirmations of heavy firing heard in various places last night to the southeast (or southwest, as the preferences of the hearer dictates), and various fresh conjectures as to the relief. The messenger who was sent out last night returned through the water-gate because he was watched. He seemed much scared, and exclaimed with big eyes that the watchmen's rattles (quite harmless implements except to sleepers) were "Oh, so many!"

The Ministers are authority for the estimate that the Russians could spare at most 8,000 men from Port Arthur, and that had the gravity of the situation been known

when the telegraphs were cut 10,000 men could have been brought from the Philippines. The most probable explanation of the delay is that the troops have been having a serious time themselves. The Chinese adage remarks that "When the fire has reached as far as to one's eyebrows it is time to look out for what is just ahead," which may well have been the situation between here and Tientsin, since the Boxers are so numerous.

It is getting to be a serious question what to do with the numerous non-Christians who are caught within our lines. There are between twenty and thirty who are over in the Mongolian Superintendency Yamen to the south of Fu, many of them persons who were left in charge of that place when Prince Su left so suddenly. There are also many others living on Legation Street, and as there is a prospect that there will be a scarcity of food it is desirable to get rid of them; but we are afraid to send them away lest they reveal to the enemy our straitened condition. "When one is riding on a tiger it is difficult to get off."

Cannon balls came into Sir Claude's dining-room today for the third time. One passed entirely through from north to south, just grazing the large painting of the Queen, knocking off an edge of the frame, but doing otherwise no damage. Still the room is not considered so wholesome for meals, the "feng-shui" being spoiled, and the large family, between twenty and thirty, have gone elsewhere, to eat if possible in greater quiet. One of Sir Claude's servants brought in a cannon shot to-day which had struck the roof and rolled off.

The committee appointed to investigate the Fu find its sanitary condition unspeakable. There are both smallpox and scarlet fever among the Roman Catholic Christians, and in their crowded condition it is difficult to

know what to do. Some of the Chinese in the servants' quarters back of the British Minister's house have had to vacate their rooms on account of the rain of solid shot, and this adds to the congestion at the Fu.

A furious rifle fire with shelling took place toward noon, and many shells burst near the main gate of the British Legation, mostly in the air. The Chinese guns are waking up in every direction. A Japanese and an Austrian were brought in wounded. The new gun platform on the Imperial City now shows two openings for cannon, and indicate what we are to expect when they get into operation.

In the desperate need of some sort of gun, to make at least an attempt to reply to these incessant attentions, one of our ingenious American military-civilians suggested that the brass barrel of a fire-engine might be utilized for this purpose, by binding it with copper wire. On this operation the American gunner, Mitchell, was engaged all day, many ladies as well as gentlemen coming to inspect the progress of the novel manufacture, and expressing the opinion that it is "awfully clever, you know." The bullets were made of the mountain of old Chinese candlesticks, and other britannia-ware stuff, of which there are cartloads, brought in from the Fu as well as other fruitful depositories. While this work was in progress a party of Chinese who had been sent for tools to an abandoned blacksmith's shop within the lines came upon an old Chinese cannon. The leader was so pleased at his find that he hastened back to the Legation with it, to the neglect of other implements which were secured later in considerable numbers. As soon as the Chinese cannon made its advent the fire-engine patent was superseded.

The Belgian engineers who were refugees from the

Lu—Han railway, have at last begun in earnest to make a secure passage across the canal to the Fu. These railway men are volunteers, and each has a huge carving knife secured by copper wire to the barrel of his rifle in lieu of bayonet, imparting a bloodthirsty and culinary aspect to their warfare and greatly endangering their companions through careless handling.

The Russians are as impatient of the failure to establish communications with the world as the most typical Anglo-Saxon, and in spite of the advice and even entreaties of others who do not wish it to become, not merely difficult, but impossible to get messengers, the gentlemen of that Legation insist upon offering $10,000 (Mexican), to any Chinese who will get to the troops and bring a reply, and $1,000 to any one who will take a message through to Tientsin, the money to be paid as soon as the fact is proved. To the class of Chinese who alone could make the journey to Tientsin or to the troops, in any confidence of succeeding, the sum named is almost equivalent proportionally to giving an American a round million dollars for a few days' work. One result is to make the Chinese realize the hopelessness of the enterprise from a foreign point of view, so that despite the fabulous offer no one is willing to go even one way!

During a sharp attack on the French Legation many Chinese soldiers broke in and three of them were killed, while none of the French were injured. The Chinese again set a fire near to the Fu this afternoon. The shells for the Italian gun were used up, but Thomas, the British armorer, is using the empty shell cases fitted up with a pistol cartridge so as to explode the charge of Chinese powder and thus impel the solid amalgam shot which are being made to-day by the Chinese tinkers and blacksmiths, who show great readiness and skill in the work.

Sunday, July 8.—About 10 o'clock last night there was again furious rifle firing on several sides, which sounded like a general attack. One of the solid shots struck the edge of the roof of the British Legation chapel and knocked off one of the ornamental animals which are affixed to the corners of buildings. The British Legation was once the abode of a Duke named Liang, a grandson of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, mostly known among Occidentals out of China from the fact that pottery made in his reign is peculiarly valuable. Palaces of this kind are the property of the Emperor, as all the Empire is supposed to be, and this place was sold to the British for £8,000 sterling, the owner being obliged to be content with a smaller one elsewhere. The pavilions still retain their original appearance, but most of the buildings have been radically reconstructed.

The night was a very unquiet one. During breakfast word was brought from the Fu that another fire had been set, and a Japanese was brought in seriously wounded in the fighting which ensued. In a few hours this fire was extinguished, but there was another one immediately afterward, and continuous shelling all the forenoon. Several British marines and Customs volunteers went over to reënforce the Fu. At the latter the Chinese are using the poles, on which rags soaked in kerosene were tied, and they soon succeed in setting a fire in places where it would otherwise seen unlikely to catch. The fight with fire went on all through this anxious Sunday. At 5 P. M. the Japanese gave notice that the front gate to the Fu was on fire, and that the Christians must be removed or they would be massacred.

The chairmen of the leading committees were soon at work removing the Chinese to the houses east of the American Legation. Toward evening shells began to

come into the British Legation from the west, striking the roof of the house of the Chinese Secretary; another did much damage in the building occupied by the Russians. Altogether they made a particularly gloomy outlook. Commander Thomann of the Austrian warship "Zenta" was killed to-day at the Fu.

In the afternoon, after much preparation, the Chinese gun was fired in the gatehouse of the British Legation with immense noise and recoil, but the shot was too high. A later shot, however, was most successful. It is difficult with an old piece like this, using foreign shells (Russian, refilled), to allow for windage, etc.

Monday, July 9.—During the night there were three distinct attacks on the plan with which we are now familiar, bullets whizzing everywhere and leaves and branches falling. The Chinese cannon were intermittently discharged. Our new "International" is put in the Students' Library (the second story), where it is discharged with good effect at a barricade in the Carriage Park; but the gun recoiled so much that it broke the window and knocked out the sand bags. Capt. Strouts is in such need of sand bags that a large quantity of army blankets were turned over for this use, but the unaccustomed sewing machines have much difficulty with them. Solid shot, apparently from the new barricades, struck the gatehouse, and many others have fallen short in the road or the canal.

The Americans on the wall have begun a new barricade some fifteen yards east of the former one, and have not yet been fired upon in building it. The Protestant Christians who were yesterday removed to the building on Legation Street have been registered anew and put at work. The International gun succeeded in sending a ball through the porthole of the gun platform in the crest of

BULLETIN BOARD, BRITISH LEGATION GROUNDS; CHAPEL OCCUPIED BY AMERICAN MISSIONARIES

the wall of the Imperial City. Thereafter it was noticed that these openings were closed by huge iron plates apparently plundered from the electric light works, except just as their gun was to be fired, when the plate was withdrawn for an instant, and immediately replaced. This would seem to put the gunners in as secure a position as if they were in mid-ocean, so far as our attack is concerned.

It is reported that three men were caught trying to set fires in the French Legation, although the facts seem to be considerably clouded by repercussive rumour. One of them offered to impart information. He says there are 8,000 men fighting us, some of whom are Jung Lu's troops, and others those of Tung Fu Hsiang.

In the afternoon a notice was posted on the bulletin boards at the bell tower, the news exchange of the Legation, that a messenger sent out into the city had returned. Noah reviewing his first dove was not more filled with curiosity to know the general condition of the universe than were the besieged legationers. The man reported that the Ha Ta gate had for some days been closed and that he went out the Tung Pien gate, and thence outside the city walls to the Ch'i Hua gate. He found business going on as usual at the Four Portals, the crossing of the Ch'i Hua and Ha Ta main streets. As a proof, he brought specimens of his purchases in the shops. Thus if any of us had supposed that the globe had ceased revolving simply because we were boxed up in our Legation precincts, his error was made manifest. The Emperor and Empress Dowager are said to be still in the city, and the " Peking Gazette " is issued as usual. Nothing is anywhere known about any foreign troops on the way!

Tuesday, July 10.—Last night there was the usual fusil-

lade with shells and bullets, our International gun being fired four times at the main gate. The re-registration of the late emigrants from the Fu and their families was going on, and they were massed for convenience of counting, but nobody was hit. Some of the Continental troops who assist over at the Fu are very apt to become careless or panicky, while the Japanese are always steady, but inclined perhaps to be too self-confident. Nothing seems to have happened last night on the wall. A British marine who has been assisting there during the night informs us that there is "nothing to do but just wait till some bloke stuck his head above the barricade, and then go for him." Is not this a compendious description of all defensive war?

Our gun was discharged several times at the Imperial City barricades, but with no perceptible effect. During the forenoon a great number of shells struck near the gatehouse and exploded, apparently aimed at the flagstaff. The eastern wall of the Legation is being elaborately strengthened with earth and timber braces. A shell struck a tree just over the heads of the workmen, and a shot hit the corner of the gatehouse and did much damage, but again no one was hurt, which is simply marvellous. To-day thirteen persons living within our lines were let out through the water gate by one of the Captains, with the usual complex result that by some he is regarded as a wise man, for saving their food, and by others as a fool for letting them impart our secrets to the enemy.

One of the Chinese within our grounds was yesterday found with some gunpowder wrapped in a handkerchief, but the man escaped. What was he going to do with it? It is again alleged that some of the Continental troops in the Fu was scared two nights ago and deserted their posts, and did not go back for half an hour. Two Rus-

sians are reported killed at a new barricade and a German died of lockjaw from a wound in the foot. An effort was made by certain civilians to get the Commander-in-Chief to remove the flag from the gatehouse to some other position, as the shelling endangered the lives of so many women and children, the range having been accurately gained and well kept. But the Captain in charge was indignant at the interference, so the shells continued as before, the assertion being that the gunners could not see the flag, and were ignorant whether they hit anything or not.

The British Legation gets the cross fire especially from the north and the west, and once a shell exploded and pieces flew into the room where the wife of the Russian Minister and some children were asleep—again no one hurt. The men that were caught trying to set fires in the French Legation are now said to have been not in it, but in some dwelling near by. They said that the soldiers send them on ahead to loophole the houses, and if any foreigners are seen, the soldiers come forward to attack them.

In the afternoon a party of British marines were sent to the French Legation to help, and the Norwegian who piloted them took them around by the Legation Street entrance, instead of through the safe alley ways in the rear. There they stood for some little time directly in front of and near to a Chinese barricade, until in response to their summons the front gate was opened to admit them. This incident has made a great deal of idle talk. There are more tales of men captured in or about the French Legation, one of whom says that, all other means of attack having failed, the Chinese are calling in miners from the western hills to blow us up.

Wednesday, July 11.—Another messenger was sent out

yesterday at noon, and another goes to-day, despite the high offers of the Russians. Some of these couriers are ready to make the effort without any pay at all as their families are in the same boat with the rest of us. The house of the First Secretary was struck last night, and a piece of a shell struck the abdomen of a convalescent patient, who was lying on a long-chair of the hospital, and waked him up. Again no one hurt.

The messenger who tried to start to-day was fired on as he left the water gate, and ingloriously returned. The Chinese are pressing steadily forward against the remaining defences of the Fu. Mr. Oliphant, brother of the one killed in the Hanlin, was brought in wounded in the leg, with a bullet which eludes search. Another Japanese is wounded in the Fu, where the barricades are so close together that many men are injured by the bricks hurled at them from short distances. There is talk of trying chemicals to depress the spirits of the Chinese, but there is nothing of which we have a sufficient supply to make it really feasible.

The thermometer to-day was reported to be as high as 99½ degrees Fahrenheit, and there have been a few other days like it. But in general the weather is far more tolerable than any one would have believed possible here. For a term of years there has been a keen controversy between the merits of the hills as a summer resort, and the seaside at Pei Tai Ho. But this year for the first time, and not unlikely the last, the whole community is agreed that by far the most wholesome thing for all, is to do what no one ever supposed could possibly be done at all: viz. spend the summer in Peking itself!

In the dearth of books it is a great pleasure to be cordially welcomed, as the refugees have been, to the

use of the library of Mr. Cockburn, Chinese Secretary, to whom the reading public is under great obligations.

Thursday, July 12.—Everything is very tense at the Fu, where the position is described by one of the Italian volunteers as "hell." Six were brought to the hospital yesterday, and a German who was shot yesterday died in the night. A Boxer was caught this morning and examined—judgment reserved. He was "looking for old iron" when caught, and had to be subjected to a long examination by the most astute intellects available before his story could be made coherent, and even then it lacked a little in the line of credibility. He thought the foreign settlement of Tientsin had been destroyed June 16, but admitted that it was reoccupied later, date uncertain. He also informed us that the Chinese attacking us were not allowed to use large cannon, but only smaller ones lest the Chinese should be incidentally harmed by them!

A young Japanese volunteer distinguished himself today by killing three Chinese soldiers. By the time the story had crossed the canal to the British Legation, it was said that he saw twenty Chinese soldiers put down their guns to set a fire. The Japanese made an opportune raid, took all the twenty guns and ammunition and killed half of the soldiers! The position of a military historian except for individuals of peculiar temperament, cannot be an enviable one.

There is a small arsenal just east of the front gate in the British Legation. Crucibles are in operation all the time making bullets of a very hard and serviceable amalgam; cartridges are being made for the Italian machine gun, and blank cartridges, which the Germans have in large numbers, are being loaded with ball. Unfortu-

nately the supply of powder is limited. There is an enormous supply of pewter, brass stoves, etc.

Shells have the range of a new barricade lately put up in the Fu, and broke it down, but it will be reoccupied. The Japanese sent for ten coolies in hot haste. Several Chinese were killed in or near the French Legation to-day, the accounts conflicting as to whether they were soldiers or only looters.

At the French Legation the Chinese are so near that they had the impudence to lean their banners against the wall of the Legation, and one was hooked over deftly. Mitchell, the American gunner, and Sergeant Preston of the "Orlando," tried the same thing with success in the Hanlin to-day, in the face of a sharp fire, and the former came away with the flag in triumph.

A lot of looters broke into the remains of the burned Hongkong Bank lately, poked over all the papers, turned the huge Chubbs safe on its side, which would require a large number of men, and evidently expected to get into it, which was impossible. A solid shot struck our gate house to-day and was buried several inches in the bricks, whence it was dug out with a dirk. There seem to be many different sizes of solid shot. About forty are now piled up in front of the Minister's house as samples and not one of them has done any damage, although one came through a room where sixteen Chinese were gathered, passed out and struck the roof of the main house.

Considering the number and capacity of the Chinese batteries on the wall of the city, at the gates nearest the Legations, behind and near to the Su Wang Fu, and on the wall of the Imperial City within a few hundred yards of the British Legation, that any foreign buildings remained standing four and twenty hours is marvellous. It was

thought at the time and has remained a probability that some of the guns were so in line with the Imperial palaces that they were as unsafe for the Chinese Court as for the Legations, and hence a restraining hand was perpetually laid upon their muzzles. At the corner of the rectangle in which the Spanish, Japanese, and French Legations stood, to the north being the Fu, stood a building called the "T'ang-tzu," containing the tablets of the remoter ancestors of the present Dynasty, and this being in the direct line of the guns posted at the Ch'ien Mên when directed at the British Legation, may have given the gunners pause. In China it is particularly unfilial to attack one's progenitors.

Friday, July 13.—At half past 9 o'clock last night a furious rifle firing began in the south-west and at the Fu, The latter continued through the night, with the big Chinese guns as an occasional accompaniment. Yet the marines in reply to a question said that it "was a very quiet night." In the morning shells began to come across a new diagonal, but still no one was hurt. One shot lodged in the room where the grain is stored, and a piece of shell struck the roof where men were at work repairing the hospital, while another fragment went through a sheet hanging on the line. There appeared to be six guns in operation all day. An Italian in the Fu was killed, and during the day three Germans were wounded. At the American Legation the Minister's house has been much damaged, with narrow escapes for Mr. and Mrs. Conger, who were at work in one room while the pieces of shell came down through the roof in the next one. The second story of the office building is much damaged by bullets. But this happened some days ago; at present the shelling seems to be on the other side of the quadrangle, attacking the Fu and the French.

A Chinese prisoner has been examined and then cross-examined in a supplementary fashion, until there is sufficient to make a little bulletin; which appears, after a long interval during which there is much curiosity to get the news. He affirms that the Emperor and the Empress Dowager are still in Peking; that Prince Tuan, Jung Lu, and Gen. Tung Fu Hsiang are in control of public affairs, and that Prince Ch'ing takes no part in them; that there are many Boxers yet in the city, their chief patron being Prince Tuan, in whose palace they are registered, fed and paid. These Boxers are ridiculed by the soldiers because they dare not go under fire at the front, in spite of their pretensions to be bullet-proof.

Tung Fu Hsiang's men are facing us on the wall, and Jung Lu's troops are attacking the French Legation. Several are killed or wounded every day, and the prisoner says that he was one of several men who were hired, at two Peking strings of cash for each body, to carry off and bury the dead. There are about 3,000 of Tung's men in the city. The Empress Dowager has forbidden the use of guns of large calibre in attacking the Legations, because of the harm they might do her loyal people and their houses. Direct attack having failed, and our firing being better than theirs, it has been decided to starve us out.

Two weeks ago news came that foreign troops from 100 warships had captured the Taku forts, and occupied Tongku, opposite the Tongku railway station. The city of Tientsin was in a panic because of this. The ammunition is brought here from the Southern Hunting Park. Imperial edicts are issued as usual, and business is going on in the streets. The four chief banks are closed. The Chinese soldiers believe that we have several thousand men under arms.

If this man turns out to have told the truth his life is to be spared. He seems to tell a straight story, and mentions that the big gun attacking the Fu is in the yard of the electric light works.

Toward evening there was a particularly violent attack with rifles over at the Mongol market, on the south-west of the British Legation, but this was supposed to be a feint to cover a tremendous assault on the French Legation, where the firing was much worse. For some time the Chinese have been separated from the Legation by only a wall, and though there had been rumours that a mine was being carried on, it did not appear that any active steps had been taken to counteract it. Perhaps this could not have been accomplished, as the buildings were themselves the eastern boundary of the Legation, leaving no room for a trench to be dug.

Soon after 6 o'clock there was a tremendous explosion, mistaken by some for an earthquake, and two of the houses in the Legation blew up, having been undermined. They were soon on fire. The first explosion buried several people, among them Dr. Von Rosthorn, Chargé of the Austrian Legation, and Mr. Destalan, professor in the Imperial University. The latter was buried up to his neck, but was released, strange to say, by the second explosion. Two French marines were on duty in the house and were buried, their bodies never being recovered.

As soon as the successive explosions took place, the Chinese made desperate efforts to take the Legation, in which, despite the most obstinate resistance, they were partially successful. The buildings were soon in a blaze and it was a wild contest between the fury of the flames and that of the Chinese, each making steady advance, so that at the close the French had lost about two-thirds of the area of their Legation, the Chinese occupying the

ruins of the Minister's house and other buildings, and the main gateway.

There was a simultaneous attack upon the German Legation. Ten British and as many Russians went to the assistance of the Germans, who have lost many of their men. The attack was repulsed and many Chinese were killed. Throughout this attack the firing was more furious and steady, and longer continued, than at any other time, being intended to cover the attack on the French. The United States marines on the wall saw several Chinese sneak along the foot of it and, firing upon them, killed many, the wounded being dragged away in the night.

Saturday, July 14.—This morning three Chinese women went out of the front gate, and within two minutes two of them returned, saying that the third had been shot. She was brought in and buried, and thereafter exit from the main gate was forbidden.

While the workmen were strengthening the eastern wall of the British Legation, the overseer was covered with dust from the débris of the roof of Sir Claude's bathroom, which had been struck by a shell or shot. Soon after a solid shot entered the second story of the house occupied by the Customs mess and penetrated the bedroom, where two ladies were lying, after which it quietly rolled on the floor!

There are constant reports of suspicious sounds, like those made by mining, to the northwest of the students' library in the Carriage Park, and much criticism is indulged in that no more active steps to counteract it are taken, especially after the object lesson of the French Legation. There is a great lack of any kind of tools, and what tools there are seem to be needed in several places at once. The energetic manager of the Hotel de Pékin

is sure that the flour mill where we do the grinding will be burned to-day, and there is the greatest activity in removing the grain which is still left, and also the mill stones, upon which we are absolutely dependent. There are urgent demands for workmen, which cannot be supplied, as all of them are overworked.

It is now said by those who seem to have the right to form a judgment, that the French will not be able to hold out in their Legation more than two days, after which they will retreat upon the almost impregnable Hotel de Pékin.

XIX

THE ARMISTICE

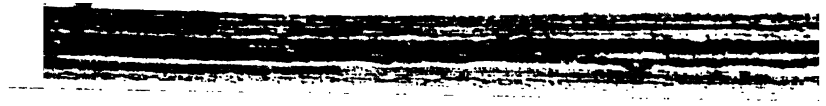
WHILE dinner was going on on Saturday the 14th, word was brought that a messenger sent out four days ago by Sir Claude had returned. He was a watchman at the Southern Cathedral. He was arrested outside the Ha Ta gate, had his letter taken from him (which contained very little information), was beaten, receiving eighty blows, and was then sent to the headquarters in the Imperial City. Here he found a man whom he knew and was detained four days, at the end of which period he reappears with a letter signed: "Prince Ch'ing and Others." The letter was as follows:

6TH MOON, 18th, (July 14th, 1900).

"Prince Ch'ing and Others to Sir Claude MacDonald, British Minister:

"In the last ten days the soldiers and militia have been fighting, and there has been no communication between us, to our great anxiety. Some time ago we hung up a board expressing our intentions, but no answer has been received, and contrary to expectation the foreign soldiers made renewed attacks, causing alarm and suspicion among soldiers and people. Yesterday the troops captured a convert named Chin Ssu Hsi and learned from him that all the foreign ministers were well, which caused us great satisfaction.

PRINCE CH'ING



"But it is the unexpected which happens. The reënforcements of foreign troops were long ago stopped and turned back by the Boxers, and if in accordance with previous agreement we were to guard your Excellencies out of the city, there are so many Boxers on the Tientsin-Taku road that we should be very apprehensive of misadventure.

"We now request your Excellencies to take first your families and the various members of your staffs, and leave your Legations in detachments. We should select trustworthy officers to give close and strict protection, and you should temporarily reside in the Tsung Li Yamen, pending future arrangements for your return home, in order to preserve friendly relations from beginning to end. But at the time of leaving the Legations there must not on any account whatever be taken any single armed foreign soldier, in order to prevent doubt and fear on the part of the troops and people, leading to untoward incidents.

"If your Excellency is willing to show this confidence we beg you to communicate with all the foreign Ministers in Peking, to-morrow at noon being the limit of time, and to let the original messenger deliver your reply in order that we may settle in advance the day for escorting you out of the Legation. This is the only way of preserving relations that we have been able to devise in the face of innumerable difficulties.

"If no reply is received by the time fixed, even our affection will not enable us to help you. Compliments.

(Signed) "PRINCE CH'ING AND OTHERS."

This was the first of a series of communications all addressed to the British Minister, presumably as the senior Minister of those having Legation Guards. The

style of the various letters, often clumsy and sometimes confused, was different from those usually sent from the Yamen, and there were indications that they were prepared by different hands; yet there was an evident acquaintance with the correspondence as a whole on the part of each writer, so that the alteration in tone observable from time to time was rightly attributed by the Foreign Ministers to the effect of what must be happening in or near Tientsin.

There was no reason to suppose that Prince Ch'ing had any special connection with these missives, more than "Others," and the effect was to keep the Foreign Ministers completely in the dark as to the personality of those with whom they were in communication. It was morally certain that there was a radical division of council among the Chinese themselves, and that the capture of Tientsin must have produced a reaction from the stark insanity of the Manchu Council, which had unanimously resolved to begin a simultaneous war on the human race in general. But under the delicate circumstances it was necessary to conduct the negotiations with much reserve, constantly temporizing to gain time, which seemed to be the only thing in our favour.

This was the first communication which had been received in writing since the beginning of the siege, and upon its contents and the reply the fate of all the Legations might hang, as well as that of the numerous other besieged, of whom the writers of this and all other letters took no account, studiously ignoring them throughout. Yet under these unique circumstances it was extremely difficult to obtain any information whatever as to the purport of the letter, and it was only after many hours that a brief abstract of a portion of it was posted upon the bulletin board, and when an urgent inquiry was made

as to the intended reply, this was announced to be "a private matter!"

After some time a meeting of the diplomatic corps was held, at which a reply was agreed upon in the following sense: The position of envoy is a sacred one in every time of war. What is the treatment which the Chinese have accorded to the envoys in Peking? They have been fired upon with rifles and artillery ever since June 20. No action is ever taken against the officials of a defeated power, but if the foreign envoys were killed, there would be grave probability of personal reprisal against those in official position in the city. The alleged attacks by foreign soldiers are denied and it is declared that all of their fighting has been in self-defence. It would be well for the Chinese to cease their attacks. The Ministers see no reason for going to the Tsung Li Yamen. If it is desired really to open negotiations, a trustworthy messenger should be sent with a white flag.

During the day many solid shot and shells fell all about, and one passing through the laundry buildings knocked down bricks on the heads of the workmen, temporarily disabling two of them. Preparations are making to dig trenches at the corner where the Chinese seem to be mining. Congratulations are offered to the French to-day on the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile.

Sunday, July 15.—There was much firing all day, both of shell and solid shot, the latter of a different size from any before seen, showing the miscellaneous nature of the Chinese supply. One of the shot passed through two sand bags and fell at the main gate. There was an all around fusillade about the middle of the afternoon. A party of fifteen went out to attack a building near the Mongol market, and the Chinese made a counter attack.

"Heavy firing" was again heard to the southwest last night with the usual mixture of hope and incredulity among the besieged.

A young Legation student interpreter named Henry Warren was terribly injured by a shot in the Fu this afternoon, and died during the night.

The reply of Prince Ch'ing and Others to the letter of the diplomatists was received to-day. It withdraws the suggestion in regard to going to the Yamen for protection. It says the Chinese must increase the number of their troops and restrain the militia from again opening fire and attacking the French Legation. The latter should not provoke attack. The Chinese Government will exert all its efforts to keep order and give protection, in accordance with general law.

The repeated allusions to the "protection" afforded by the Chinese Government "in accordance with general law" (in the intervals between its shells and its rifle-shots) was particularly grateful to the besieged, especially when punctuated with delicate references to "our affection," which had already been strained nearly to the breaking point to make the "protection" valid.

At nine in the evening there was a specially vicious attack on every side, which sent the bullets whizzing in every direction, but it subsided within half an hour. About midnight there was another still more violent one of about the same duration.

Monday, July 16.—There was much discomfort and not a little danger in the Hanlin last night, owing to the use by the Chinese of fire balls and bricks, against which there is no protection. One of the prisoners taken by the French the other day has now been sent out as a messenger (to the great disgust and vexation of his

captors, who wished to kill him) with a promise of 500 taels reward if he returns (which he never did). He was let down over the wall, carrying two letters written by Sir Claude, one in English couched in a boastful tone, as to our resources and prospects, and another in Greek letters giving a more sober view of the real situation, the former in case of capture, and the latter for information to friends.

The Norwegian who has made so much trouble at various times already is now ordered into a condition of semi-confinement in the south stable yard.

In the middle of a rainy forenoon word was brought that Capt. Strouts, the senior British officer, and Dr. Morrison, had been wounded while passing a particularly exposed place in the Fu, and that Col. Shiba (Japanese) also had a bullet through his clothing. The wound of Capt. Strouts was a most serious one and soon proved fatal. He was a brave officer, who had done the best he could in peculiarly difficult circumstances, and his sudden death sent a sympathetic thrill through the little besieged community. He was only 30 years of age, and was almost sure of promotion in view of his exertions during the siege. Although not a military man, Dr. Morrison had proved himself one of the most important members of the garrison, being always in motion and cognizant of what was going on everywhere, being by far the best informed person within the Legation quadrangle. To this must be added a cool judgment, total disregard of danger and a perpetual sense of responsibility to help every one to do his best. For these reasons the " Times' " correspondent was much missed while his wound prevented him from taking the active part to which he had been accustomed.

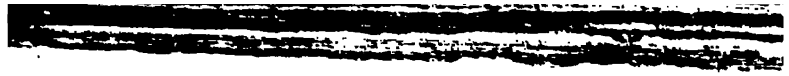
In the afternoon an American marine named Fischer, who had been killed on the wall in the morning, was buried, during the drizzling rain in the Russian Legation, the premises of the American Legation being too much exposed to hold a funeral there.

There have been very few shots to-day from the Chinese big guns, but the strange fact is remarked upon that while all the furious firing of yesterday afternoon, evening and night, harmed no one, to-day, while almost no shots have been heard, two persons have been killed and five wounded.

The death of Capt. Strouts necessitates a readjustment of military duties, Capts. Wray, Poole and Percy Smith being assigned certain commands, and Mr. Squiers (whose rank was Lieutenant) being appointed Sir Claude's Chief of Staff. Soon after five o'clock in the afternoon the funeral of Capt. Strouts and young Warren was attended, they being buried in a common grave. Just as the procession began, word arrived that a flag of truce had come with the reply of "Prince Ch'ing and Others," as already mentioned. Three or four shells burst over the heads of the funeral party, as if to accentuate the Chinese conception of peace and protection. The messenger who went up to the stone bridge to get the letter carried a white flag himself, but it was not conspicuous, and he did not wave it at all and was fired at for his stupidity. When, on his return, he was asked why he did not wave his flag as a signal, he replied simply that he did as soon as he was shot at.

The messenger comes from the Tsung Li Yamen with a letter for Mr. Conger, enclosing a cipher telegram in the State Department code, with three numbers of five figures each, signifying: "Communicate tidings bearer." This is densely mysterious, especially as it was written

AMERICAN LEGATION WITH BARRICADE



on a proper telegraphic blank. It is conjectured to have come from Tokio, or from Seoul, but why are tidings to be given to "bearer," and who is the bearer?

Tuesday, July 17.—Toward noon to-day there was an attack in the Mongol market which continued for some time, and a British marine was severely wounded at the south stables as a result. The messenger who came yesterday was examined last night by Mr. Pethick, whose patient skill usually succeeds in extracting a certain amount of oil even from buckwheat shucks. It seems probable that there is considerable division among the Chinese themselves. The messenger was asked by Chinese officials if the foreign ministers were eating horse meat, and admitted it, but when pressed as to whether they used the sound horses for this purpose, replied that it was only those that were "spoiled" which were eaten, meaning probably such as were accidentally wounded by stray bullets, but not the less a very erroneous dietary statement.

The prisoner taken by the French was examined, but he was too frightened to reveal much. He said that he was employed to bury the bodies of the Chinese who were killed, at 500 cash each, and that ten or more were buried every day. His beat included only the French and perhaps the German Legation fighting area, and he thought that some three hundred bodies had been buried in this way, all of which were taken outside the Ch'i Hua gate and put into a deep pit. The Chinese had spent several days in making the mines which destroyed the French Legation, and lost more than ten of their own men in the explosions.

Of what goes on in other regions on the west of the Legations, the prisoner knows nothing, there being no passage across, and really no communication. The

Chinese troops were said to be under three different commanders. He thought the Empress Dowager and the Emperor had left Peking. He knows nothing of any foreign troops. He never went himself to the tea-shops where the current events are spoken of, but being a poor and busy man simply bought a cake on the street and slept in a doorway. Every few sentences he reminded the questioner that he was not himself a Boxer of any sort, that he was a man with a bitter lot, and had an old mother over eighty years of age, as nearly all Chinese when reduced to extremities appear to have.

About the middle of the forenoon two of Jung Lu's soldiers came within our lines, and gave some crumbs of information or misinformation adapted to the needs of the hearers. They say that the soldiers now have orders not to fire, but to hold their positions. One of them says that his regiment of 500 men has lost 200 in killed and wounded. Many would desert, but the Boxers outside the city stop them, and they can only get through them by taking their weapons and leaving in bands of thirty or so. They say that between Tientsin and Taku the foreign troops defeated the Chinese. One of the deserters was a bugler, but he did not blow his instrument in such a way as to please the musical taste of his superior officer, who partly chopped off the prisoner's ear by way of criticism, the remnant of the ear being produced for medical treatment. He says that Gen. Nieh committed suicide in consequence of his defeat, but in the official Chinese reports he "fell at the head of his troops."

To-day Sir Claude and the Ministers replied to the last "Prince Ch'ing and Others" letter, saying that they were pleased that the Chinese Government intended to restrain "the militia" from firing upon the Legations,

and that the latter never fired except in self-defence. The movements of the Chinese troops on the North Bridge inspired natural distrust, and we could not allow them a free passage. While anxious for peace the Ministers did not know who it was that was moving about near the Legations, constructing barricades and gun-platforms, and therefore there was no room for surprise if in self-defence we fired on them. It would be better for the Chinese to stop all these movements until confidence is restored. In conclusion it was mentioned that the letter and many large shells came simultaneously into the British Legation. This letter was forwarded to the Chinese by the convert Chin, who returned later with a reply of which the following is a summary:

"The foreign troops had been in the habit of strolling about the streets and firing rifles as it pleased them. On the 21st of June, a Manchu noble was going to court, when at the eastern gate of the palace he suddenly heard a rifle shot, and the bullet pierced the covering of his cart. This excited the anger of both soldiers and people and led to mutual attacks. Now that there is mutual agreement that there is to be no more fighting in future, there may be peace and quiet. East of the Ch'ien Mên there are foreign troops who attack from time to time. If they could be controlled and moved from the wall it would be desirable."

To this letter the following reply was returned the next day: The letter of June 19th was first recapitulated. On the following day, the reply says, fire was opened at four P. M., and was continued until June 25th, when the board was put up on the bridge ordering a suspension of hostilities. A return messenger was sent with a reply on another board, but being threatened with rifles he returned, and no shot was fired by us. But at midnight the Chinese

suddenly opened a heavy fire, and from that time the attacks continued. These attacks on envoys are without a parallel in the history of the world.

With regard to what is said about the agreement as to cessation of hostilities, preparations for attack must be considered as of the same nature as open firing. The Legations cannot allow gun platforms, earthworks, and barricades to be constructed, even though no firing takes place. The foreign troops cannot be withdrawn from the city wall, because much of the firing has been directed from there. It is difficult for the Legations to feel confidence because of repeated attacks upon them. We never fire except when we see people moving about, apparently preparing to attack, or building barricades, etc. The best way to suppress these attacks would be for the Chinese Government to cut off the supplies of ammunition. A request is made that sellers of ice and fruit may be allowed to come to the border, and dispose of these articles as in time of peace.

Late in the afternoon the messenger returned with another letter from the headquarters of Jung Lu, and several communications to the Ministers. Among the rest was a telegram to Mr. Conger, purporting to come from Minister Wu Ting Fang, and evidently belonging to the telegram asking that the " bearer " should be told tidings. There is some mystery about the business, but Mr. Conger replied briefly in cipher, saying that the Legations had been attacked with shot and shell for a month, and unless prompt relief arrived a general massacre was feared.

The complicated history of this despatch was not known until long afterward. Minister Wu Ting Fang had maintained that the Legations were safe. The United States State Department naturally asked him to produce some proof of it in the shape of a message from the long

silent Mr. Conger. His efforts to do so resulted in the first message to "give tidings to bearer," and this opened the way for Mr. Conger's startling revelation of the actual conditions, which opened the eyes of the World to the true state of things—or would have done so, but for the fact that the greater part of "the World" detected in it a clumsy forgery, in which the use of the State Department cipher, however, was an insoluble mystery. The correspondence, editorials, and subsequent explanations of this single incident would fill a duodecimo volume.

To-day a young French student incautiously went into the Chinese barricade during the cessation of hostilities, and was detained by the Chinese and sent as a prisoner to the Tsung Li Yamen. It was the general expectation that he would be tortured to make him tell what he knew, and then killed; but these gloomy apprehensions were somewhat relieved by the arrival of a note from him saying that he was kindly treated and had enjoyed a good dinner. Toward evening he was sent back, presumptively the wiser for his rash experiment in the practice of armistices during Legation sieges in China.

A separate place on the bulletin boards is now reserved for "Military Notices," one of which, issued to-day, orders that loopholes are to be kept closed with a brick when not in actual use, and that, to ascertain what is going on outside, looking-glasses shall be employed. If this had been practiced from the beginning, it is thought that many lives would have been saved, the courage of all the fighters being much greater than their caution, which seemed to be deprecated as rather unbecoming and unprofessional. But recent losses have been so numerous and so serious as to compel the use of every safeguard.

It was reported during the afternoon that a high barricade was being put up west of the Russian defences on Legation Street. A large placard was prepared with Chinese characters threatening that if barricades were built the workmen would be fired on. As the work still proceeded in spite of this notice, the International Gun was sent over to remonstrate with the Chinese, and this, with much rifle firing, stopped the labour for the time being.

As soon as there was a cessation of hostilities the Chinese soldiers showed a disposition to swarm over their barricades and into ours, which was a serious embarrassment, as it was undesirable that they should examine our defences at close quarters. Over in the Fu seven of them came into a Japanese barricade in this way, when a Chinese non-commissioned officer came out and demanded their return. The Japanese officer replied that he would not kill them, to which the Chinese replied theatrically:

"Kill them, when they went in of their own accord under a flag of truce?" and remained in a stage posture indifferent to the Japanese rifles until the men had gone back.

Wednesday, July 18.—There were only five rifle shots during the whole night, and for four and twenty hours there has not been a cannon ball or shell sent in to us. Mr. Gamewell, however, is working hard on the countermine ditches at the northwest corner of the British Legation, refusing to pay the smallest attention to armistices, truces, or flags of truce, until the foreign relieving force reaches us. It is reported that Boxers with arms are freely roaming about everywhere in the city. West of the south stables, Chinese unarmed soldiers climbed up on their barricades fanning themselves and saluting our

people who were gazing at them. A shot fired at them by the Russians made them disappear rapidly. A time of truce is, in some respects, more trying in dealing with a Chinese than open attacks. "Open your mouth and he's down your throat."

The return messenger was sent to the Yamen at ten o'clock, and with him two men, who are despatched in the hope of making purchases to open the way. Not receiving permission they returned, for in this case it seems not to be true that "trade follows the flag." The request to the Chinese to keep their men from coming to our barricades is renewed. There are fresh rumours that the Chinese Government has sent for Li Hung Chang. A United States marine came from the wall reporting that they have been at last enabled to bury the dead Chinese soldiers lying for many weeks in the sun, which have rendered sentry work there almost intolerable. He reports that twenty-eight bodies were buried west of our barricade, twenty-three on the east between us and the Germans, and eighteen on the ground below the wall. A Chinese officer says that the men with felt hats (Americans) have killed 300 of his men.

About two P. M. an excitement was caused by the announcement that one of our Christians, sent out by the Japanese to Tientsin June 30th, had returned, bringing the first word from outside since the siege began. In due time the following account of his experiences was posted on the bulletin board:

"The messenger left by the Ch'i Hua gate, proceeding to Tientsin via T'ung Chou on a boat. He arrived at Tientsin July 5th, but was unable to enter the city, as it was surrounded by Chinese troops. He worked round the city gates and found a force of Chinese under Gen. Chêng posted north of the railway station, cannonading

a force of Japanese holding the ground south of the station. On July 9th, Gen. Chêng was defeated and the messenger managed to get through the Japanese lines on July 12th and delivered the Japanese Minister's letter to the Japanese General. While in Tientsin he gleaned the following items: 'Gen. Nieh is dead. All the missionaries in Tientsin and outlying stations had left for home. The Taku forts were taken after a two days' attack.' On July 13th the messenger left Tientsin, being escorted by Japanese troops to the Red Bridge, and returned to Peking by road. Prior to his own arrival no news from Peking had reached Tientsin since the end of June."

The notice of the contents of the letter received by the Japanese Minister, Baron Nishi, was posted as follows:

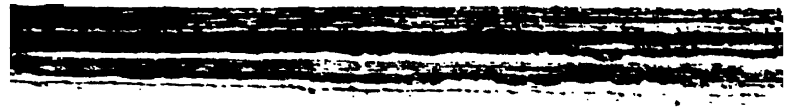
"A mixed division consisting of 2,400 Japanese, 4,000 Russians, 1,200 British, 1,500 Americans, 1,500 French and 300 Germans leaves Tientsin on or about the 20th of July for the relief of Peking. The foreign settlement has not been taken by the enemy."

This bald summary, leaving much to be desired by way of explanation, was supplemented by minute fragments of other items, such as the suicide of the Governor General, Yü Lu; the occupation of the Taku forts (known long before), and details of Japanese losses in the heavy fighting between Tientsin and Taku.

Under the circumstances it was not surprising that the most intense eagerness was felt by every foreigner to know the contents of messages received and sent, the effect of which might be of such grave import to every one concerned. With this natural thirst for information the American Minister, Mr. Conger, fully sympathized and constantly communicated to his nationals the substance of everything not expressly withheld from the public by agreement, but in this practice he stood quite alone. All

AMERICAN BARRICADE

ON THE RAMP



others imparted their information either to a select circle only, or, more frequently, allowed it to filter out through the highly absorbent but too often wholly unsatisfactory atomizer of the General Committee.

To-day Sir Claude had an interview on the city wall between the American and the Chinese barricades, with a Chinese Colonel, with whom an understanding was reached as to the terms of the armistice. These were later sent in writing for transmission to the Grand Secretary Jung Lu who, according to the statement of those who came in touch with the Legation, was the ruling power in the Government.

As a result of this, about four o'clock in the afternoon a blue-buttoned official named Wên Hsien (or Wên Jui), came from the Tsung Li Yamen, and nearly all the Ministers went outside the main gate of the British Legation to see him,—an act justly criticized as undignified, especially as the interview came to nothing. The notice which was posted informed the besieged that a Yamen secretary came, sent by Jung Lu in response to a suggestion made in a separate letter to him, that communication would be facilitated if a responsible official were sent to the Legation. He had no special message, but promised to see whether "Peking Gazettes" could be procured, and a market established for ice, fruit, eggs, etc., and also to ascertain whether telegrams could be transmitted on behalf of the foreign Ministers to their Governments. He mentioned, what everyone knew a month ago, that telegraphic communication was interrupted, and expressed the concern of the Chinese Government at the doings of the Boxers, who had caused the whole difficulty between China and the foreign Powers. He reported that nothing had happened to the Northern Cathedral.

It afterwards appeared that this Yamen secretary had

been by Imperial Decree appointed as one of the official Heads of the Boxers, which implied that he was in sympathy with them. The choice of such a man for an envoy to the Legations at such a time was thus a deliberate insult, although this could not then have been known. The circumstances served to account for his nervous and embarassed manner.

Thursday, July 19.—Now that profound peace reigns within our borders, there is no longer a record of war's alarms as heretofore, and the thoughts of the besieged are turned from shells and bullets to eggs and watermelons. Notice has been sent to the Chinese that the following orders have been issued to the European troops: (1) They are not to fire unless fired upon. (2) Soldiers constructing barricades are to be fired upon. (3) Armed soldiers leaving their barricades in the neighbourhood of the Legations will be fired upon. (4) Unarmed persons carrying letters, etc., are not to be fired upon, but must not exceed two in number. If there are more than two, shots will be fired over their heads. If further advance is made, they will be fired upon.

During the cessation of hostilities all available labour is expended upon strengthening the weak places in the defences. We do not allow the Chinese to build new barricades, nor yet to repair old ones without interruption, yet we are doing the same thing ourselves. This is because they have only to retire a few rods and they are safe, while we are fighting for our lives, and if we neglect our defences while lured by their wily peace talking, it may prove our destruction. It is difficult to understand why the supply of eggs should continue to be of the most exiguous description.

Friday, July 20.—There were as yesterday only a few stray shots in the night, and everyone enjoys the un-

wonted quiet. Mr. Tewksbury, the indefatigable chairman of the General Committee, spends a considerable part of his time in struggles to get a market started, but with very moderate success. The sellers of eggs seem to be afraid of being fired upon, but sometimes soldiers bring in a number in their sleeves. All of these, good and bad alike, are sold at the rate of four cents, Mexican, each, and are paid for at the provision stand in chits or promises to pay, which appear to be issued by the manager of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. This seems to be a new role even for that expansive and benevolent institution, especially as there is a general understanding that the chits will never need to be cashed, but will have to be paid for by the paternal and now deeply indebted Chinese Government.

There is much discussion as to the reason for the overwhelming preponderance of Russians in the relief force said to be about to start. Many think it as good as certain that Russia has secretly encouraged the Chinese to foment the Boxer disturbances, hoping that they would clear out foreign missionaries from the northern part of China which the Russians are supposed to have marked as their peculiar preserve. They may have whispered to the Chinese: "We do not tolerate these propagandists in our country; why should you do so in yours?" To others this appears as mere bottled moonshine, especially as the Russians have been in many respects as heavy losers as other nationalities, their bank, their Legation, their ecclesiastical headquarters, and their cemetery having suffered in the same way as all the rest.

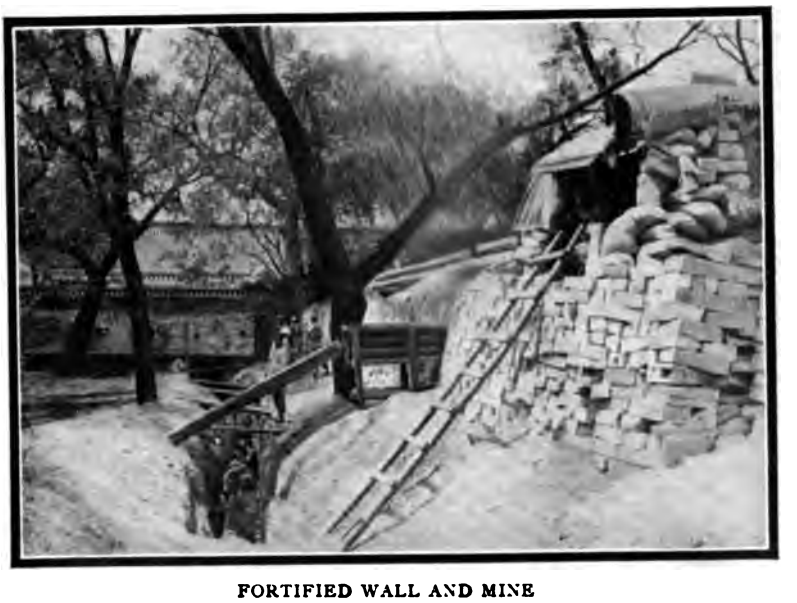
There is a deep trench dug in the northern part of the Hanlin yards within our lines, to prevent mining and a sudden attack by the Chinese. Here the workmen have struck what seems to be a quarry of soft stones shaped

like cannon balls, for which it is probable they may have been intended. They are of miscellaneous sizes, and appear to have been prepared by patient rubbing on a large stone, the grooves of which are plainly to be seen. They are found far below the roots of very old trees, and are met with in immense numbers. Every one is carrying off specimens, and the supply is unexhausted. No one is able to tell the age of the present Hanlin courts as now used, but it cannot be ancient measured on a Chinese scale of chronology. The counter-mining ditch behind the students' quarters has gone down to the foundation of the building, and though the space is limited it is thought best to keep on, as the risk of a mine at that point is great.

Now that the firing has ceased, there is leisure to look about, and see the results of previous attacks. The German Legation appears to have suffered more than other buildings, except the Hotel de Pékin. The house of Mr. Cordes, the interpreter, is smashed to small pieces in places: some of the shells made a hole as large as a hat going in, and coming out left one the size of a peck measure. In one of the upper rooms everything was knocked to slivers; a bureau in fragments, but the mirror uninjured. Shells from three directions have been falling there incessantly. Some of the roofs are merely galvanized iron, which is not exactly bomb-proof. The portico of one dwelling is in imminent danger of falling, and another shell would bring it down. Yet despite the great number of shells no one seems to have been killed by them, but all by bullets. Of the fifty German soldiers, ten have been killed, thirteen seriously and eight others slightly wounded. The new club building near by is not much damaged. The old one was burned.

M. Chamot, the manager of the Hotel de Pékin, says

BRITISH LEGATION GATE AND NORDENFELT GUN



FORTIFIED WALL AND MINE

that the Chinese are hard at work on their mines in his vicinity, and that they can be distinctly heard at it. He has laboriously countermined the main drain under Legation Street in front of his place for a long distance and is prepared to explode a mine with acetylene. He thinks that the defenders of his hotel fortress will never be driven from it, and it is evidently by far the most strongly fortified place within the lines.

At present they are daily employed in grinding grain for 1,662 Roman Catholic Christians, and for Austrians, French, Germans, and Russians besides, as well as for the guests of the hotel. He has an allowance of the common stock of wheat, and bakes three hundred loaves a day. Many animals are employed both day and night in the milling process, and it is said that some of the mules were the property of Hsü T'ung, the tutor of the Emperor, whose home is near by. In the general ruin of the conflagrations his house was destroyed with the rest. The upper story of the hotel is an even more complete and all-around wreck than the German Legation.

So far as there is any one storm-centre of all the various attacks the Hotel de Pékin has been that one. M. Chamot and his courageous wife have been everywhere together, and have never once abandoned their place, though it was constantly struck by shells, and was several times on fire. The Chinese flags and barricades seem to be but a few rods distant from them. In the hotel we are told that a record of the shot and shells admitted to their compound has been carefully kept, and that on the day of largest receipts there were 124, a total of 487 in all thus far. The upstairs bedrooms are knocked into dust and splinters and are an utter wreck.

Throughout all the shelling the grinding of grain for the food of the garrison went on uninterruptedly, the

buildings in which it was carried on being low and not easily hit. A vast amount of work has been done in the defence of this place, which is a wonder to every one. There are usually as many as seven different flags flying from the front entrance, the largest an American, in compliment to the proprietor's wife, also a small Danish, Irish, and Swiss banner, the whole making a most conspicuous target defiantly flaunted in the face of the enemy to the very end. Chamot's cart, which was in perpetual motion on a limited scale, was also decorated with a French flag, but seemed to have a charmed immunity from being struck.

In the forenoon several volunteers went out to the banks of the canal to bury the numerous dead horses which have long been obtrusively objectionable, returning with several baskets full of cannon balls of assorted sizes, to the number of perhaps forty.

The French Legation has been destroyed to a large extent by the great fires following the explosion of the mines. At that attack huge breaches were made in the walls, when the Chinese pressed forward and fired three dwelling houses. The flames drove the French rapidly back to their present position. There were about forty men on guard at the time, and four marines were killed at the single loophole. A shell came into the chapel over the figure of the Virgin, and the opening has been utilized as a loophole, albeit not very accessible. The barricades strike one as being utterly inadequate and scarcely worthy of the name. If the French were to retire, the next defence would be Chamot's impregnable castle. It is reported that nine of the French marines have been killed and, including civilians, thirty or forty persons wounded.

In the afternoon a mat-shed was put up outside the front gate of the British Legation to receive officials.

Later in the day, but before any progress had been made toward completing the shed, the same Yamen secretary who came yesterday reappeared, bringing seven letters from the Yamen for five Ministers, the first communication from that source since the siege began. Mr. Conger had a telegram returned which he had sent in with the hope that it might be forwarded, but the Yamen objected that if sent for one Minister, the same must be done for all.

M. Pichon had a telegram in cipher from Paris without date, but which cannot be later than Bastile Day (July 14th, when honours are conferred) notifying him of the bestowal of the cross of the Grand Legion of Honour, and of the occupation of the Taku forts, which we are beginning slowly to believe as a fact. It is also learned that the Chinese Government have instructed their ministers to remain where they are, "on good terms with the governments to which they are accredited," and that when the French Government gave the Chinese Minister his passports, the Chinese Government replied by reappointing him.

In one set of communications, authenticated by the seal of the Tsung Li Yamen, was communicated to the representatives of Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Russia and the United States, the text of telegrams addressed to the Queen, the Emperors, or other Heads of States. The tenor was similar, with certain differences, and was of the nature of an appeal for assistance out of the difficulties in which China was involved. The date of the Decree directing the Grand Council to transmit the telegram to Her Majesty the Queen, and the other Heads of Powers, was dated July 3rd, apparently so that it might not be mistaken for an utterance inspired by fear arising from the fall of the Taku Forts and the resultant en-

gagements. Yet that was the day upon which there had been a particularly heavy fire on the Legations, and on the preceding day an Edict had been officially published directing that missionaries should everywhere be expelled and converts forced to recant.

In another letter which was received simultaneously with this it was declared that so fierce and uncontrollable was the animosity among the people, that nothing but the destruction of the Legations would satisfy it, and urging the Ministers, therefore, to depart to Tientsin. The responsibility for any disaster, should they remain, was thrown upon themselves. A formal note was likewise received from the Yamen informing Sir Claude that a verbal Decree had been issued to the effect that the weather being now hot, the Legations required fruit and vegetables, which were to be at once forwarded to them. "Accordingly four cart-loads of vegetables and four of watermelons are sent herewith." This extraordinary combination of war and watermelons was accompanied by the cards of Prince Ch'ing, Prince Tuan, Wang Wên Shao, Ch'i Hsin, Hsü T'ung, Ch'ung Li, Chao Shu Ch'iao, Wu T'ing Fên, Hsü Ching Ch'êng, P'u Hsing, Na T'ung, Lien Tuan, and Taun Ch'ang, all the Ministers of the Tsung Li Yamen.

To the letter from Prince Ch'ing and Others, again urging the removal of the Ministers to Tientsin, and referring in detail to the general situation, a reply was sent to the following purport:

In your letter the statement is made that there is a great movement in China beyond control, and that the anti-foreign feeling has gone so far that nothing but the destruction of the Legations will satisfy it. It is difficult to believe this, in view of the desire of the Chinese Government to afford real protection. An Imperial edict

might be issued explaining that the Envoys are guests, and that it is important that they be left in peace. With regard to the proposed departure to Tientsin, it would mean that friendly relations have been broken off. The calamities on the Chinese officials and people in case of anything untoward happening would be indescribable. The Chinese Ministers in other countries are still at their posts. It would not be safe for the Envoys to go to Tientsin, for if they cannot be protected here how much less on the way there. You say that you cannot be responsible for any unforeseen disaster that may occur, but it is impossible for the Chinese Government to free itself from responsibility.

During the afternoon a messenger who had been sent out to secure copies of the "Peking Gazette" returned with a partial file, which was distributed for translation. This is the birthday of the God of War (the 24th of the 6th moon) and as it is feared that the spirits who control the Boxers may have designated it as a suitable time for a renewed attack, orders have been issued for renewed diligence. With the opening of opportunities for trade, the string of cash which hung for several weeks on a little pine tree, has disappeared.

Saturday, July 21.—There were almost no shots during the night, although a few firecrackers were let off in honour of the birthday of Kuan Ti, the war god. It is now thought that since the Chinese did not attack us yesterday, they may not do so at all until the arrival of the relieving force.

More eggs are now to be had, but they are so few that they are sold only for the women and children, and when the scarcity is extreme, a certificate of illness is required.

The messenger who went out yesterday says that the soldiers affirm that between 3,000 and 4,000 of their men

have been killed by us, and that on the night when the French Legation was attacked there were twenty carts carrying away dead bodies. There are said to be three foreign guns mounted over the Tung Pien gate. The Chinese are to move from their present positions within three days, but perhaps to others nearer to us.

In the afternoon more Yamen letters arrived, two for Sir Robert Hart, one of which inquired after his health, and spoke with regret of the loss of his house, of which the writers had just heard, although it took place a month ago.